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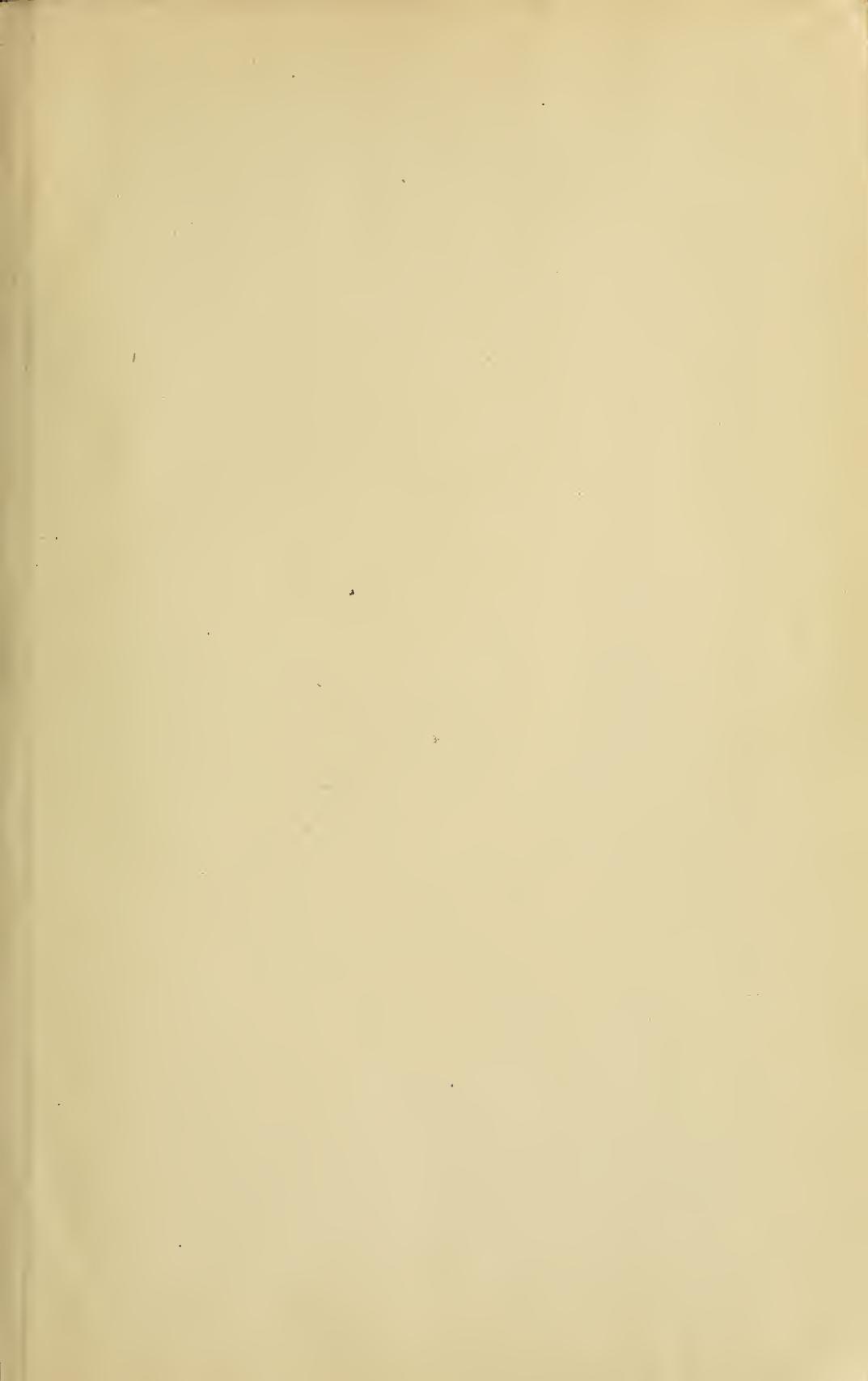
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New York State Education Department

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

BY

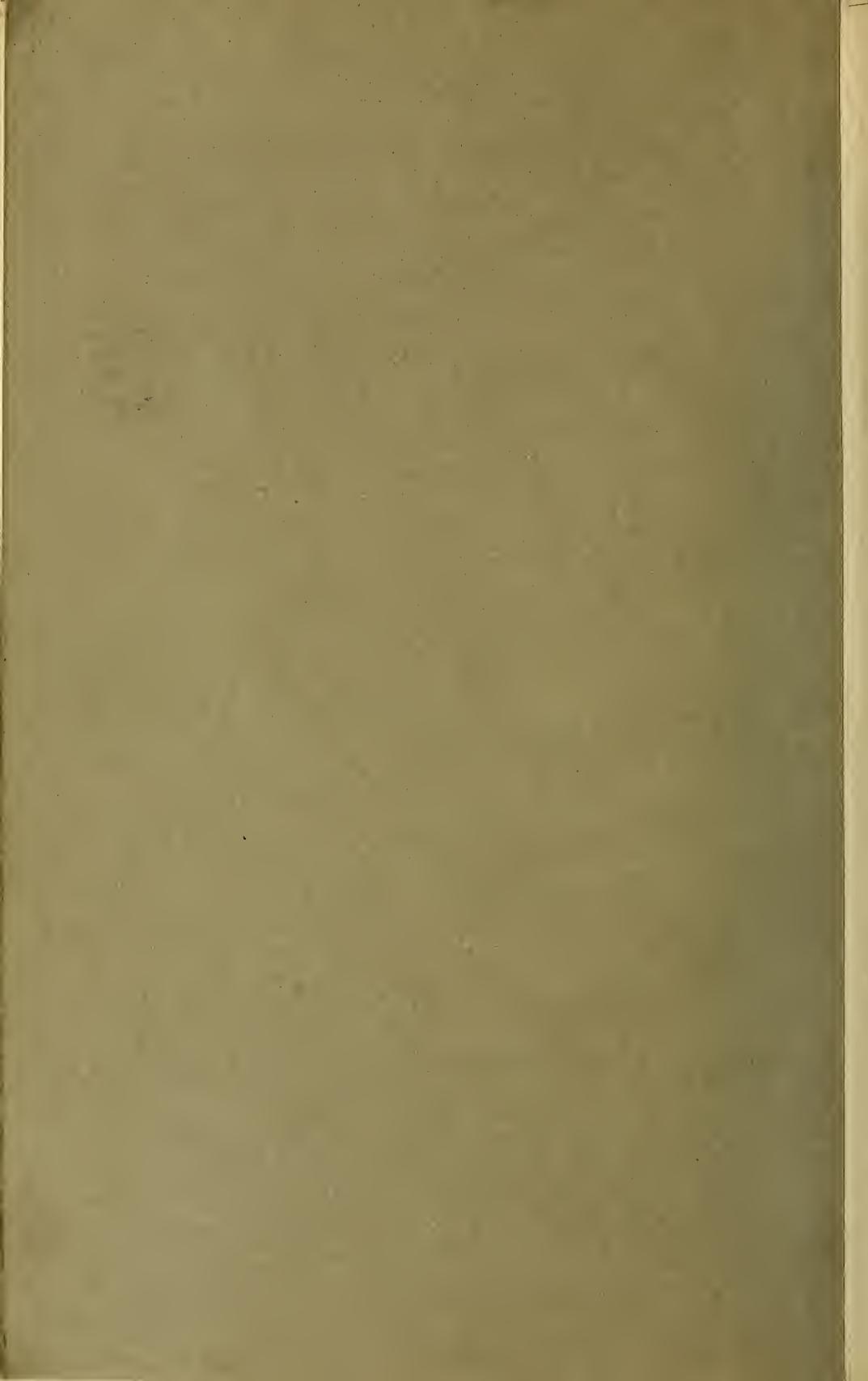
ANDREW S. DRAPER LL.B. LL.D.

Commissioner of Education

1911—1912

ALBANY, N. Y.

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Part 21

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ANDREW S. DRAPER LL.B. LL.D.
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STATE OF NEW YORK
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
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ALL PEOPLE AND ALL EDUCATION

ALL PEOPLE AND ALL EDUCATION¹

It is a genuine satisfaction to participate in your celebration of the accomplishments of the first twenty-five years in the life of this young university. As universities go, Temple University is yet very young. I have wandered about the halls of universities that have been six hundred or eight hundred years in the building. The oldest of our American universities is looking forward to its three hundredth anniversary. It certainly takes time to develop a great university, but we in America have a way of building universities more rapidly than they do in other lands or than they used to do in this country. That fact finds splendid illustration in the growth of this institution. Our celebration will not recall history and tradition very much; it will not be very boastful of gray-headed "old grads" gone to the United States Senate or Supreme Court; it will not be a solemn festival where old men have all the good seats and indulge in reminiscences; but it will be a sort of hilarious expression of the energy, the accomplishments, the hopes, and the determination of youth. While I am no longer a young man as years go, I am bound to say that this kind of a celebration is not without exceedingly attractive features.

Temple University is not only young; it is democratic. It is not exclusive socially or educationally. It gives warm welcome to all who can do its work. It recognizes the fact that work done gives the best promise of the power to do, and it therefore regards records and certificates; but it does not believe, or even half-way believe, that the people of the United States are to be classified and one class educated and another not; and it does not believe, or even half-way believe, that all education worth the name is ancient and literary, and that all education that is modern or industrial is hardly worth the having. On the contrary, it believes that every one should have his chance; that the door of opportunity should open to the earnest purpose and to the power to do; and that the education which enters into life and makes life better worth the living is the education that is of the most worth and that most surely concerns American universities.

These two facts, the youth and the democracy of this institu-

¹ Abstract of address given at the silver anniversary and founder's day exercises of Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa., on February 11, 1911.

tion, give the stranger within your gates the theme for his observations upon your silver anniversary.

It is impossible, and it ought to be impossible, that wealth shall be evenly distributed, or at least shall long remain evenly distributed, among men and women. Social and industrial communities with a common treasury in which all the members have equal rights are chimerical and transitory because unjust. The personal equation is a rightful factor in determining individual progress and human situations. That is true of this country above any other country, because here ambitions are always rife, opportunities are always open, and things are always moving, while in other countries the individual status is very fixed, opportunities are very infrequent, and the affairs of the people move slowly and laboriously. Of course the results are in both directions. There are not many of us who have reached middle life or gone beyond it, who have not seen fortunes disappear and names lose their significance, and who have not also seen competencies accumulated and new names made great. It is the result of our natural physical resources, our mingling of different nationalities, our universal ambitions, our religious toleration, our political institutions, and our continued activity. It is so for the first time in human history, and it is right. Genius, gifts, studiousness, learning, craftsmanship, assiduity, probity, and prudence are entitled not only to their accumulations but also to have their accumulations protected. Incapacity and shiftlessness are bound to suffer their inevitable consequences. But in this country every one must have his chance and then he must take the consequences. It is good American doctrine that there shall be equality of legal right, that the common power shall not help one and hinder another, and that upon that basis every one must accept the consequences and keep the peace.

This relates to education as to any other kind of riches; and it has been and is to be more of a matter to work out this principle as to education in America than most people are accustomed to think.

Temple University is not only a new and possibly a somewhat unique university, but it is in a new and somewhat unique country. In situation and relations and purposes and institutions this country is to be distinguished from all other countries. It may not in all things be better than all other countries, but it is certainly in very many things very different from any other country, and of course we believe that it averages a little better than any other.

All other countries have upper and nether classes. We inherited a great deal from the countries from which we came, but we refused to accept the class distinctions. We inherited our thinking about education and the plan and scope of our higher institutions of learning from other countries, and as these were based upon class distinctions we have had difficulty in reorganizing and reconstructing them so as to get rid of the old basis and readjust them to democratic rather than exclusive or autocratic foundations.

All the early American colleges were exclusive. Their view of educational values was exceedingly narrow. They held that there was no education which was not classical, metaphysical, dogmatic. Indeed, they were so dogmatic that they would *now* be held to be irreligious. Think, for example, of a president of Yale College writing in his diary "Colonel Ethan Allen has died and gone to hell this day." Fortunately for both of them the president delayed his entry of judgment until Ethan Allen was dead. It needs courage to appeal from the judgment of a college president, but I guess an appeal would lie from that to the throne of the Almighty. Righteous as he and his compeers were, they had much to learn. They needed to learn not only moderation of judgment, but also that the sciences were to unlock God's truths in conformity with human intelligence and in response to human research, and that there was education, and no conflict with true religion, in all that. And they needed to learn, what their day could not reveal to them, that education may be as broad as mankind and as the world of mankind, and relates to all human lives, to all planes of life, and to all that can make life in the world better worth the living, to the end that life in the hereafter may be better worth the having. Indeed they needed to have, what the early conditions necessarily denied them, the lights which the progress of our social and industrial life under democratic institutions has thrown upon the possibilities and therefore the responsibilities of the higher learning.

If the early colleges were exclusive, so were the early secondary schools. The early "academies" were the offshoots of the early colleges and in scope and spirit were like them. They were ordinarily initiated and always fostered by the colleges, that they might be feeders for them. A given academy guided such of its students as were going to college to a given college. To be sure, all the students of the academy did not go to college: often the more well-to-do sent their children to the academy which was convenient in order better to prepare them for life, when they had no thought

of their going to college. But whatever became of the student, his work in the academy had to be narrowed by the thinking of the professors in the college to which he was expected to go if he were going to college at all. And as the thinking of the professors in all the colleges was within arbitrary limits and much the same, the offerings of the academies were very few and much alike.

This was the survival, of course, of the thinking and of the educational plans and institutions of Europe, and essentially of the British Isles. It was precisely what was to have been expected. There has been much said about the educational purposes and doings of the early American settlers, and much that has been said has been without information about the facts. When Englishmen first settled in America there were higher and lower classes in England, as there are today. Those Englishmen did not cease to be Englishmen, and had no thought of it, when they came to America. They brought with them all their preconceived notions, and habits of mind, and well-settled manner of life, and established arrangements for training their young. They did not change these in any essential way for a century, nor in any large way for two centuries. At Plymouth, through the Pilgrim Church, they undoubtedly taught their children to read a little and to write their names, according to the English custom, to make sure that they could read the Bible and so gain salvation, but there is no proof whatever of the existence of an independent school of any kind in the Plymouth colony for half a century after the year so great in American history, 1620. At Massachusetts Bay the first schools were a little college, now our oldest and one of our greatest universities, and a preparatory school for it. As the settlements grew in size and in numbers and moved back from the coast, other fitting schools were established. There were "classes" then and for generations afterward in Massachusetts, just as there were in England, and what was done in the way of schools was done by the upper class, and related essentially to the training of their children for service in the state and the church, which were united in one. Only the barest elements of learning were accorded to the children of the multitude, and thought of training such for the higher things of life was as much beyond the possibility of aristocratic contemplation in that day as the idea of going back to the educational plan of that day would be beyond the outposts of our understanding now.

It must be said that this was not wholly or absolutely true in all parts of the country, for Holland had broken the back of autocratic power and celebrated her victories by establishing elementary schools for the masses as well as universities for the few, and the Dutchmen who came to New York and Pennsylvania brought their ways of thinking with them. In their poverty they did set up elementary schools, the first in America, although they were unable to establish colleges. But fortunately, as we now believe, the English power was to prevail over all the other powers that were seeking to dominate America, and with the prevalence of the English power there had to come, and happily, as the sequel has proved, the English plan of education.

As there is better result when we take high ideals, even though narrow ones, and liberalize them, and put under them foundations which can carry them, and build stairs by which all people may get up to them, than when we are without high ideals altogether, it is well that the English power and plan of education came to prevail everywhere in America. But it must be distinctly said that that is not because it was then or is now such a good plan in itself, but because it was and is a good plan for democracy to make better. And that is precisely what we have been doing; and it is what the older nations, not excepting the Mother Country herself, because of the persistence of the old order of things and because of the lack or the slow progress of democracy, have been unable to do at all, or at least with anything like the celerity and forcefulness that have marked the progress of education in the United States.

Of course there has been notable educational progress in all countries worth mentioning since the colonial days in America. The character and the extent of it have depended upon the ambition and independence, the intellectual agencies and the political institutions of the people. It has often been energized by commerce and accelerated by war. But it has as commonly been held back by religious intolerance, and it has uniformly been blocked by the self-interest and obstinacy of caste. In Britain, France, Switzerland, Holland, the German Empire, and the Scandinavian countries, there are excellent primary schools and noble universities. We may now almost say that of Italy. We may certainly say it of Japan, for constitutionalism has made real progress there, and the keel of the educational system was laid, the decks were built, and the spars were set up by American teachers. If the

whole truth were told, the elementary schools of the leading countries of Europe are as universal as the elementary schools of the United States, and are even more efficient in teaching the elements of knowledge. The reason is that the management of the system is more arbitrary; attendance is universal and regular; theorists and children are not allowed to control the schools; there is not so much senseless exploitation of pedagogy and psychology in the schools; there are not so many conventions, and there is a charming and restful freedom from unprofitable disputation by superintendents and teachers of primary schools over apparently unsolvable matters which belong in the universities if they belong anywhere. The schools have definite work to do and they do it; and the result is that the percentage of illiteracy is negligible and all the people have a good firm grasp upon the elements of knowledge which are vital to comfortable subsistence in primitive life. And that is more than is true of all the people in the United States.

All these leading nations over the seas have ancient and splendid universities. By far the greater part of those universities are held back by old traditions and arbitrary forms. But that is by no means the worst of it from the American point of view. There is no connection between them and the primary schools. Of course there are occasional exceptions; local history may supply the reasons for an invasion of the general plan in a circumscribed region of country, and exceptional genius may have broken through the wall of caste here and there; but the overwhelming fact is that there is no open road in Europe from the elementary schools to the universities. The people who control the educational policies of the Old World do not intend that there shall be one. As the primary schools are a thing unto themselves, so are the universities. As the primary schools are efficient for the nether class of people, the universities are efficient for the upper class. If there must be an arbitrary wall between classes of people who are all alike vital to the power, the progress, and the happiness of a nation, the arrangement is probably as good as any that could be set up. But we do not believe in any such arbitrary division among the people, and we know that any such educational arrangement is not only unjust to the masses but also that it keeps from the universities the very youths who alone can save them from losing their virility and going to seed.

And so the people of the United States have been setting up a better scheme of education, and it may be said that they have

arrived at it in a rather singular and unexpected way. It would have been as impossible to convince the early American colleges, as it would their English prototypes, of any fundamental errors in their scheme. But democracy did its work so perfectly that in time even the old line colleges had to remove their mortar boards to it.

The history of elementary and common schools in the American colonies is a barren one. Not until the old bell at Independence Hall in this city clanged out the glad proclamation of independence of royal rule, and the colonists had made their Declaration good in successful battle, did there begin to develop anything like a universal system of elementary schools in America. The royal government of England had a hard enough time in asserting its rule over other royal governments in the wilds of America, and after it had effected that, it did even less for the education of the plain people in the colonies than it did for its plain people at home, and that was little enough. But for half a century after independence we were setting up the English educational plan which embraced classical colleges, with academic fitting schools for the well-to-do and elementary schools for the farmers and the mechanics. By the middle of the nineteenth century the common elementary school had become universal and was ready for a new evolution. The wall was being lowered. The new evolution was the common high school. There was a great fight over it, and notably in Pennsylvania, but it came. It came so generally and so strongly that it overwhelmed most of the academies and gave the colleges a serious jolt. Here was the bridge over which the children of the common people could come to the very doors of the higher institutions. Of course those doors opened for them. An ancient educational system and a modern educational movement were face to face and would have to adjust themselves to each other or the next evolution of the new educational impulse would overwhelm the college itself. The effort to adjust the college was sincere and partially successful, perhaps as successful as was well, but it was difficult of attainment and the further manifestation of democracy in education came in a little time and with transcendent consequences. That further manifestation was in democratic universities, broader in their foundations and more influential in the affairs of the nation than any higher institutions of learning that America, or even the world, had seen before.

Apart from the enlargement of educational opportunity, the

holding out of the equal chance to the multitude, the influence of it all upon the older colleges themselves, has been very decisive, and the growth of distinctly democratic universities in the United States is an evolution of the very first moment in world education. The old-time colleges, developed since our Civil War into great universities, have willingly testified of the satisfactory preparation of students for their college work by the public high schools, and of the democratic influence of students so prepared upon the universities themselves. And no one can fail to see that the dependence of these older institutions upon students trained in the high schools is so great that the offerings, as well as the atmosphere and spirit, of even conservative universities have had to bend to new ways of thinking and to the interests of a wider constituency than they have ever had before.

But of more consequence to American education than the influence of this democratic advance upon universities already established, is the erection of great universities as a constituent part of the public school system, offering the best instruction in every study, in all the newer states of the Union, and directly under the support and management of the people themselves. They are supported by the states with absolute enthusiasm and many of them have in the last quarter century come to be numbered not only among the largest but among the greatest of American universities. That of course means that they have come to rank well upon old-line subjects — that is, upon classical, literary, philosophical, and purely scientific branches — with universities anywhere in the world. But it may be justly added that in addition to this they have gone outside of and beyond the older institutions in lines of work which bear upon the social and industrial life of the people, and have to do with the political sciences and the administration of states and municipalities in a measure that fully justifies them to all the people. And, moreover, the absence of sectarian control has made for freedom of discussion, without cant, in religious matters, which is practically unprecedented in higher education. By reason of it all they have in recent years grown in numbers of teachers and of students, in property, in offerings, and in telling influence, far more rapidly than the endowed universities of the country.

The Federal Bureau of Education has recently reported that there are eighty-one of these tax-supported universities and other institutions of higher education wholly or partially supported by

the state, having 7960 teachers in their faculties and 84,555 students in attendance. Each of the great states in the north central section of the Union has a great public university with from three to six thousand students who find whatever training they may wish and, speaking generally, of as high quality as is provided in any institution of the country. Last Saturday night graduates of the State University of Michigan banqueted in the city of New York. A special train brought a throng from Michigan to this function. At the board sat a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, four members of the National Senate, and twenty-four members of the National House of Representatives, besides great numbers of other men distinguished in public life and in the professional, commercial, and industrial life of Michigan and of the country. In a note to this company my long-time friend, Dr James B. Angell, former president of the university, said:

The university is not rich in lands, or in buildings, or in bonds; but in the talent, character and achievements of her thirty thousand sons and daughters now living she is rich beyond computation.

The graduates of Michigan have come of a virile stock, from homes where self-denial was practised that they might receive their education. They brought habits of industry, a heroic determination to prepare themselves for useful careers and a high purpose to make their way honorably over or through all obstacles.

This is our chief endowment — men and women scattered all over this land and over foreign lands who have brought things to pass, and have been a great power in the world. They make the name of Michigan respected everywhere.

This illustrates much. What Michigan is doing for the higher learning, she is of course doing for all learning, because all grades of learning are interdependent. And what Michigan is doing to help all people to all learning, all the other states beyond the Allegheny mountains are doing in a large and far-seeing way. The territory of Michigan, with that of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, was dedicated to freedom, to religion, and to education by the great ordinance of 1787, and all of them have not only kept the pact but have spread the same faith to the Pacific coast. While democracy was really getting upon its feet, when the western states were taking form and it was therefore easier to erect higher institutions of learning upon new and democratic lines in those states than in the older ones, it must be said that the

endowed universities have bent to the new influences with remarkable facility, and some of the older state governments have responded to the democratic advance in rather thoroughgoing ways.

Out of it all there has developed an educational organization in the United States that, as already observed, may not be as completely efficient in its every part as some of the corresponding parts in some of the systems in some other countries may be, but our system surely shows more comprehensiveness, universality and solidarity than any other national system of education in the world. All the people are to have equal educational opportunity in America, and the highest learning of the world is to be at the service of every culturing, professional, scientific, commercial and industrial interest of all the people.

As I understand it, Temple University is in a special sense a people's university. While under peculiar obligations to a founder who gave himself and devoted what he could to it, it has not had the advantage of what have now come to be known as princely gifts in education. Surely you have had reason to know that you have not been a tax-supported university. But you have appealed to the masses and grown upon your humble and needful work. You have not been exclusive: you have held out the helping hand to all who were ambitious and assiduous and yet for one reason or another might not be able to make their education their only business, or were not able to fit into, and perhaps were not disposed to fit into, the hard and fast grooves of established institutions. If that has been the idea, you have been richly entitled to the prosperity that has attended you.

Of course it is not necessary for me to say that all universities must observe the standards which come to be fixed by the educational sense and experience of the country. Doing that, you will prove your worth and you will realize with the succeeding years, more and more, that, while it may not be best that all the people of the country shall go to college, provision must be made for all who can do college work and who knock upon the college door. Since New York City has become a way station on the Pennsylvania Railroad, it is hardly within the proprieties for a New Yorker to tender advice to the magnificent municipality of Philadelphia or the imperial commonwealth of Pennsylvania, but it is within a freeman's right to say that, between them, they would honor themselves by providing you money which would help you to make such provision yet more completely, for all who would like to enter one of your doors.

MEMORIAL DAY AND WORLD PEACE

MEMORIAL DAY AND WORLD PEACE¹

American travelers are struck by the display of old battle flags and tablets in memory of soldier heroes, in the churches of Europe. Many a Presbyterian pilgrim to the early shrines of his church will recall the brilliant colors and the glowing records of Highland regiments in the numerous panels of the grand old cathedral of the established Presbyterian church of Scotland, standing over against the ancient necropolis in Glasgow. That is a rather natural intertwining of patriotism and Presbyterianism where they are much the same. But the custom is usual and logical in all countries where the political state and a dominant church are interdependent.

The bright colors, the testimony to splendid heroisms, the continual stirring of patriotic emotions, are both attractive and stimulating. But after a little, as the intelligent American reflects upon it, there is something about it that is not completely grateful to him. He recalls that these displays are evidence of the aid and special favor of government to a particular congregation or a particular denomination. He reasons that when a political state favors a particular church it demands something in return. He knows that congregations and whole denominations have protested against the policy for hundreds of years and grown strong through their protesting. He knows that the institutions of his country have grown out of that protest. He knows that that protest is growing more vehement in all parts of the world. He sees that religion does not find its mainspring in political power; that churches may better be the independent guides and, if need be, the free critics of government, and neither the suppliants nor the instruments of parliaments and kings. He believes that religion is more likely to be undefiled and the state strong where the church is free from political entanglements and the state is independent of sectarian domination. His reading has told him that free churches are more the cause than they are the product of free states, and that free churches give a better support than do state churches to states that have the best right to be. He knows that the flag of his country deserves adoration and he adores

¹ Address at the First Presbyterian Church, Albany, on Sunday, May 28, 1911.

it, but he may question whether even the flag stands for more than the church stands for, and he even disputes the prominence and significance of the flag that he adores, in the place and the hour set apart for the worship of his God. Anyway, he concludes with all confidence that a church must reject any theory and repel any usage which does not magnify and promote the blessings of peace, and does not deplore the necessity and lessen the possibility of war. And he thinks of his own church and his own flag with yet deeper satisfaction than he had before.

It is now full fifty years since the outbreak of the awful war which abolished slavery at a cost of men and means and heart-aches beyond all calculation. The day set apart by the laws of the northern states for paying respect to the memories of the heroic dead of the Union armies in that war is again at hand. The churches have no misgivings about the propriety of their participating in the national observance. Grateful to the noble flag that protects their independence, they make a free will offering to the memories of the men who gave their lives to ennoble it. The old sectional bitterness has almost passed away. A month ago the southern states observed a similar day in honor of the heroic dead of the Confederate armies. But for the difference of the seasons north and south, the whole country would doubtless observe the same day, "with malice towards none, with charity for all." There is little dissent now, in any responsible quarter, from the moral and legal propositions of Lincoln upon which the war was fought and the victory won; that war was not justified to abolish slavery in the states where it was by authority of law; that a house divided against itself could not stand, and that the nation would inevitably become wholly slave or wholly free; that the slave system was a moral evil and could not be permitted to enter territory that was free; that the Union could not be severed by the action of individual states, or in any way except by amendment of the Federal Constitution in the way provided therein; that he would not "strain the bonds of affection" and would not precipitate war, but that the solemn business of the President, under the "oath he had registered in Heaven," was to "save the Union" and execute the laws in all parts of the land. And, whether there is any dissent from these propositions or not, there is universal acclaim that the Union was saved, universal recognition of the conscientious sincerity and splendid heroisms of both the contending armies, universal respect for the

graves of all the dead, universal acceptance of the conclusions which apparently could be reached by the sword alone.

The fiftieth anniversary year witnesses a movement marked by great earnestness as well as great sagacity and learning, supported by large influence and liberal means, and aided by the leading and most progressive governments of the world, for the avoidance of war through the submission of disputes to courts where the principles of justice may be applied to facts which have been ascertained with deliberation and scientific exactness. If the courts find that the laws have not anticipated such a situation as the ascertained facts disclose, then they are expected to lay down new laws which will assure the just rights of men and of nations and at the same time give civilization the stability and the opportunity to uplift itself and go forward. Surely there is no place more fitting than this church, and no time more appropriate than this hour, for calling the sacred memories of the soldier dead to the support of a world movement to promote justice and peace. And surely there is no more reverent way for honoring those who died for freedom and the flag than by associating their memories with the demand that right rather than mere power shall prevail, that liberty shall go unhampered until it reaches the limitations of the gospel and the law, and that the limitations shall be determined quietly in the light of experience and reason, and without recourse to the warfare which is "the last argument of kings."

When the Union was assailed, the great heart of New York throbbed strong and true. With all her strength of position, of numbers, and of resources, she responded promptly; and she kept abreast of all the other states to the very end. She sent four hundred thousand men, one in five of her male population, to the army. There were five hundred thousand different enlistments. One soldier in every five who sustained the nation came from the Empire State. It is not meant that she was more patriotic than other states, but she had the men and the money and the position and the patriotism which gave her the right of the line in the forces that saved the Union.

Albany has always been a point of the first moment in the military view. In the settlement days this city was the center of both trade and warfare with the Indians. All through the long, bloody century which was required to settle the questions whether white civilization or red savagery, whether English or French civilization, and whether monarchial or democratic government, were

to prevail in America, Albany was the point of very first strategic importance. All the water courses, all the canoe and bateau routes, all the Indian trails and the military roads, all the bridle paths and wagon roads, converged here. If these roads which have now become great highways of commerce and of pleasure could speak, they would tell pathetic stories. Every hamlet along their sides has had its horrible tragedy, and there is little exaggeration in saying that every rod of the way has been crimsoned with human blood. Many times they have witnessed serious events of very great national significance. The road from here to New York, and particularly the old warpath of the Iroquois, and of the French and Indian wars, and of the two wars with England, running from here to the Canada line, are by all odds the most historically important roadways in America. The possession of these roads did not assure the final triumph in Colonial days, but there could be no victory for the side that did not hold the Albany gateway.

In the Civil War this city was happily free from the fighting, but the rivers and the roads continued, and by that time they had been augmented by the canals and the railroads. All the political thoroughfares were also wide open and had easy grades to this city. Geographical situations and natural advantages joined with the potential significance of the capital of the most powerful state to make this city a place of prime importance through the contest for the integrity of the Union.

Let us look at the place in that wonderful summer of fifty years ago, from the local and inside rather than the general and outside point of view. The city had 62,000 inhabitants. The center of population had not reached half as far from the river as it now has. The center of wealth was below Eagle street. The residences of the more prosperous citizens were mostly at the north and south ends, well under the hills. The site of this church was on the very western border of the built-up city. Willett street as well as State street, and Lydius street (now Madison avenue) west of Willett street, were bordered by only occasional houses, mostly frame. From our church door—if the church had then been built—we would have looked out on Washington Parade Ground. It had been the militia training field from early days, and at that time was the carelessly kept public resort for military drills, and firemen's tournaments, and ball games, or anything else that demanded room. It was a rather long parallelogram running

along the east side of the present park from State street to Madison avenue. West of the parade ground there was here and there a residence on what is now park ground, a few on the park side of Madison avenue, and on the park side of State street there was an ancient "burying ground."

The city did not anticipate the assault upon Sumter. The newspapers were not so many as now; did not publish extras so swiftly, and did not carry the news before there was news to carry. The first gun was fired upon Sunday, April 14th, just at the break of day. The shock was felt here very distinctly. The people lingered in the churches and gathered in the streets that morning to talk about it. The State officers and leaders in the Legislature met in the afternoon and the old capitol was lighted that night. The next day the President asked for seventeen regiments of militia from New York at once. The Albany regiment left the city on Saturday. The regiment was off for three months if needed, but the war was to be ended before that time. The city was almost beside itself with patriotic zeal. Throughout the summer it had the aspect and atmosphere, the tension, gayety and abandon, of a long military gala day.

Meetings were held and committees formed. The fife and drum were in the air and recruiting offices on every corner. There were neither flags in the stores to meet the demand nor cloth for the flags which every woman was anxious to make. All the children in the school brought their pennies for a flag and staff to be raised over the schoolhouse. An enormous flag and staff were raised at the foot of State street. The national colors burst over and upon the city in a brilliant, beautiful, fascinating shower. Nimble fingers pleated rosettes which everyone wore. Even the soldier uniforms contributed to the great array of burning colors. The "Union blue" was a little time in developing. It took many people some time to make the uniforms which were adopted when it became too evident that the war would be more than a three months' affair. In the meantime the Fourth of July uniforms were in vogue. The Ellsworth Zouaves of Chicago had fired the youth of the city in the preceding year by their parade through the streets and marvelous drill on the parade ground in fantastic Turkish uniforms; and baggy red trousers, blue jackets with rows of bell buttons, white moccasins, and fez caps were very popular. The boys of the city, in companies and even in regiments, with as much of this uniform and such show of wooden muskets

as their money would buy, joined with all the rest to make the Independence Day of that gay and eventful summer a day which no boy of that period can ever forget.

Of course the energy and enginery of it all were in the camps and the coming and going troops. The railroads and steamboats were speedily clogged by the soldier throngs. Often a regiment from northern and western New York, or from Vermont, was fed at the station. The center of interest in the city was at the camp called "the barracks" on the ground where the Albany Hospital and the Dudley Observatory now stand. There was an old industrial school building there, and with wooden structures soon erected it was made to serve the need of the organizing troops nearly as well as the tents they would set up on southern fields. The field was inclosed by a high fence to keep insiders in rather more than to keep outsiders out. The gate was reached by a board walk from Madison avenue up the New Scotland road. Seven regiments, largely of the young men of Albany, were there organized and prepared to go to the front in that first summer of the war. Of course the men attracted great numbers of relatives and friends, but the place and its activities fascinated all. The routine of the camp was interesting enough, but the marvelous dress parades and reviews in the afternoons drew those of both high and low degree to this center of human energy and interest. And the climax was reached when the bugles and the drums sounded the advance, and men choked and cheered and women waved and wept as these full regiments of citizen soldiers moved down the streets and through the throngs to the fields of glory and of death.

We can not now follow these men to the battlefields. But we know something of what happened there and how it reacted upon those who stayed behind. If the summer of 1861 was something of a long gala day, that of 1862 was in marked contrast to it. Bull Run sobered the city a little. Many more men and much more money were needed. Yet the significance of Bull Run was not very well understood. There had been relatively few deaths and the resources of the city had not been much affected. But the year 1862 with Williamsburg, Hanover Court House, Fair Oaks, McClellan's campaign on the Peninsula, Pope's in Northern Virginia, Antietam and Fredericksburg, brought many an Albany home to want and laid many another in the very deepest sorrow. The fair face of the city became serious, somber, even ominous,

as means became depleted, as the economics and moralities of her life became seriously affected, as the best of her sons came home wrapped in the flag they had given their lives to defend, and as no man could now see when or what the end was to be. But Chancellorsville, Port Hudson, Gettysburg, the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Cold Harbor, Petersburg, and the Appomattox campaign were all to follow. The cost of living and the common inability to meet it were distressing enough, but the number and frequency of the casualties were appalling.

We can not speak of all the deserving sons of Albany, but we recall the leading names and the funerals in which the whole city was concerned. There was Major General O. M. Mitchell, director of the Dudley Observatory, and of fame as a geographer, and Brigadier General James C. Rice, both justly revered for their chivalry, their sagacity, and their piety. There was Colonel Lewis Benedict, a boy who won first honors in the Boys Academy and at Williams College, was both leading lawyer and legislator, who came from Libby and Salisbury prisons, sick and wounded, to lead another regiment, until his shattered body was brought home in the "martial cloak" that was rent by bullets and stiffened by his blood; and there was Colonel Edward Frisbie, of the First Baptist Church; and Colonel William A. Jackson who, perishing before thirty years of age, became as well known as his father, the long-time and very distinguished professor of mathematics at Union. There was Colonel John Wilson, he of the ruddy face and Apollo form, who took the Van Rensselaer classical and the Caldwell mathematical medals at the same commencement in the Albany Academy, and who went from the Baptist Church and the Mission Sunday School that his father established at the west end, to lead a regiment renowned for its gallantry, until he was laid low in battle; he was a florist, and in the peninsula campaign he sent home some flowers he had picked on the picket line only five miles from Richmond. There was Colonel Michael K. Bryan of the local militia regiment which was in Washington within a week from the assault upon Sumter, and who returned in the summer to raise another regiment and to command it gallantly until mortally wounded. There was Colonel Lewis O. Morris, another boy of the Albany Academy and of West Point, whose piety and gallantry are both remembered. There was the gallant Colonel James P. McMahon, of a fine Irish family well known in this city and State, who fell upon the ramparts at Cold Harbor,

with the colors in his hands. There was Colonel James D. Visscher, pierced by a sharpshooter's bullet and dying in a minute with the words "My poor mother! God help her!" on his lips. There were Lieutenant Colonels Frederick Tremain and Michael Stafford; there were Majors Charles E. Pruyn and George S. Dawson, and Edward A. Springstead, and James H. Bogart, and William Wallace, and Miles McDonald, and George W. Stackhouse; and Adjutants Richard M. Strong, of this church, and John H. Russell; and there is a long list of captains and lieutenants—John D. P. Douw, William J. Temple, Augustus I. Barker, James Kennedy, Harmon N. Merriman, Edward Carroll, Douglas Lodge, John Sullivan, William H. Pohlman, Henry D. Brower, the Dempseys, and William E. Orr, and very likely other commissioned officers, whose names I may have overlooked. Every one of them had become, through his family or by his own doings, prominent in the religious, commercial, or professional affairs of the city. And there were so many others who carried muskets, who had been very vital factors in the city's life and who perished as gallantly as the men who led them. And there were yet so many more whose lives were shortened by the hardships of the service. The regiments which marched down our broad streets with full ranks, and were often recruited up to fifteen hundred, or two thousand, or even twenty-five hundred men, marched up the street at the end of their service with only two or three or four hundred men, who had to be tenderly cared for in order to survive at all.

In a word, this city gave the men, the money, the character and the learning which would have sustained all the churches of the city and would have sufficed to establish and endow a university for the free and liberal education of all the children of the city *forever*.

But Albany is only a dot upon the map of the Union. Every place in every state had its part in the conflict and has its ever-continuing share in the good and evil results. The expenditure of money placed a mortgage obligation upon the country which seems likely to continue forever. There are vacant places and soldier graves everywhere in the land. Of the four hundred thousand men whom New York gave to the army, the average age was only twenty-five, fifty thousand were not above eighteen, and a hundred and fifty thousand were not above twenty-one years of age. More than fifty thousand perished upon the battlefield; twice or thrice that number really gave their lives to the

country; and the constitutions of nearly all were weakened by the hardships of the service. It cost nearly a million young men, north and south, to get rid of slavery. Few of them could be carried home to loving friends and honored with stately and Christian burial. There are twelve thousand acres of soldier graves on southern fields. They were the most virile men we had, and their early deaths deprived the nation of preaching and teaching, of literature and research, of professional skill and industrial energy, of balanced conservatism and commercial thrift, that would have enriched its life for an indefinite time; and, moreover, it deprives the nation of countless sons and daughters who would have been the worthy and vigorous offspring of such forceful and self-sacrificing fathers.

We can not think of all this without emotion. We revere the memories of those who "paid the last full measure of their devotion to the Union." We would avoid further warfare and other sacrifices. But how is this to be assured? It can not be assured, for men are both fallible and forceful and nations are as fallible and forceful as the factors which compose them. But it is an ideal to be worked for with singleness of moral purpose and with rational appreciation of the difficulties in the way and the methods that contain the possibilities of promise.

For generations sentimentalists have opposed all warfare and advocated peace. It has often seemed to the men and women who constitute the bone and sinew, and have in their keeping the progress of the nation, that these people have had but a poor appreciation of what makes peace that is worth having, and that they have been searching for something that was hardly worth while and have stood ready to purchase it at almost any price. Happily, the movement which is now attracting so much support in all countries, but which has been distinctly led by this country, may be acquitted of any ignorance of history, of the hard facts of life, or of rational ways and means which may accomplish large ends. And, fortunately, it has gained the aid of the leading powers of the world.

What is peace? There are laws or principles which operate in all the affairs of the natural world. They relate to matter and to motion, to life and to thought. They keep the world in equilibrium but in action. We know little about it, but we can not fail to see that there is universal periodicity and harmony and progress in all the great factors of the universe. It is undoubtedly as true

of the mental and moral as of the physical universe. Men are subordinate to all that, and at peace when they are in accord with it. There can be no peace except upon the basis of universal law.

If I break my agreement with another it is absurd to expect him to do nothing about it, for the sake of peace. The only peace there can be depends upon keeping obligations, and one with whom I break faith doubtless contributes to the peace of the world by requiring me to meet my obligation. The operations of a factory may be stopped by a strike. The strike may or may not find justification in the inadequate compensation of workmen. There may be no violence, there may be quiet, but there is no peace. It is only paralysis where there ought to be life and energy on the basis of a just division of profits, taking into account the capital, experience, risks, managing capacity, skill, industry, and honesty contributed by all interested. The Iroquois drove the Hurons to the Canadian wilderness and then followed and scalped them all. They called it peace: it was only desolation. The English moved six thousand Acadians from their home and distributed them among the English colonies in America to insure peace. They only produced bitterness of which they never saw the end. Peace can be predicated upon nothing but rights, energy, integrity, and progress. It is the outworking of the divine order. It is not necessarily opposed to physical force; indeed, it is often dependent upon it. The Pilgrim Fathers had the moral right to come to America even though savages resented it. Pioneer farmers had the right to move west and break farms and set up churches and schools, although it made a trail of blood all the way to the Pacific coast. Protestantism and independence had the right to uplift themselves in America. All war has not been as wicked as some seem to think. At least one side has often been as righteous and noble as any activity in history. Washington's army was as righteous as the Declaration it made good. Lincoln's armies were as righteous as the Constitution of the United States they enforced. The right of civilization to live and even to go forward may be enforced by physical strength. It is in the universal plan. Civilization is the concrete expression of justice, of industry, of mental and moral progress.

Unhappily, in every society there are vicious and dissolute characters who have to be restrained, or wholly controlled; and in the family of nations there are buccaneering members who have to be ignored, avoided, ostracized, or even disciplined when they

outrage accepted principles of international law. The propriety of the physical force which keeps our homes and our coasts secure is beyond all question. This consists of the local constable, the county sheriff and his deputies, the city police, the State militia or National Guard, and the regular army and navy of the United States. This is the police power. It is set up to carry out the laws which the people make. It is the orderly carrying out of the common will by the common power. We can change these laws, we can change the officers who execute them, if change is desirable. Law is only the gospel and the commandments translated into a form capable of application to developing situations in a complex and advancing civilization. These laws and these officers assure us security of person and property; and with the other attributes of our political system they afford us the free opportunity to make the most of ourselves through our own unaided effort and through the creation of institutions which will serve and uplift all the people. We have no more security in the United States than the people have in many other countries; but in no other country, with the possible exception of the little republic of Switzerland, is there so much freedom of opportunity. Therefore, despite all the energy and ambition and unrest natural among men of opportunity, we have, as I think, a more secure basis of peace than any other nation in the world.

The modern peace movement seeks to secure laws that will extend this police power which exists within every nation, so that it will be effective *between* all nations. That is, along boundary lines and upon the seas, the great international highways. In this way outrages, disputes and conflicts between nations will be prevented, as is the case in our internal affairs. It also seeks to secure full and frank discussion of international disputes, arbitration where discussion does not suffice, and a ready court of learning and character to try international controversies which can not be otherwise settled. It is simply making constitutionalism international as well as national.

The only way a law binding upon sovereign nations can be made is by treaty agreement. Of course custom may fix, and often has fixed, principles of international as well as of national laws. Conquest has often done it. But the only enduring and conclusive way is by treaty. This peace movement has already resulted in many treaties which must go a long way toward assuring peace because they have been made between powers of

the first importance. Other treaties, and much more comprehensive ones, are on the way. Indeed, the nations now seem to be sensitive to any oversight about inviting them into these agreements.

It is the unexpected that happens — at least, things come about in unexpected ways. Modern implements of warfare have taken out of war the personal elements and such redeeming features and influences as it had. Like almost everything else, the thing is actually done by machinery. It is now little more than downright human butchery by machinery. Interest in it is mainly among professional soldiers and sailors who invent or operate the machines and men who make and sell the machines. And there has to be so much machinery, and it is costing so much, that the nations are being impoverished. One of these machines costs \$12,000,000, as much as a decent university costs, and the military people want hundreds of them. They talk much of the probability of conflict and the need of preparedness for war.

In recent years we have been hearing much of that even in this country. We have no close neighbors who covet our territory: we are free from such complicated and menacing situations as the European nations are in. We want nothing to which we are not easily entitled, and our diplomacy has always been singularly open and direct. Yet we hear much of the necessity of our preparedness for war. We must reckon with the fact that there are large elements in our population who are in favor of war, or at least of a preparedness for war. There are officers of the army and navy who think most of matters which mean most to them. The possibility of war is inciting to the profession of arms. The enlargement of the fighting arms of the government means promotion and distinction, and to have vast armaments without use for them seems a waste of efficiency and involves mistakes in professional prognostication. So there are organizations in the army and navy to promote appropriations and agitate the school boys with the attractions of life in camp and on shipboard. Then there are influential factors in the community who thrive on warfare or even on preparations for warfare. So the coincidence between the prophecy of foreign wars and the pendency of army and navy appropriation bills is not so remarkable after all. It would seem as though the solid sentiment of the country should resent it.

If I were to meet my friend Adjutant General Verbeck on a peaceful May morning, in full uniform, booted and spurred and

armed to the teeth, I should have to ask what was the matter. If he should say he had to be prepared for war for some one might assault him, I should assure him that that was absurd, that he had no enemy in the world, that every one liked him, that if a crazy man attacked him every other man would aid him, and that his preparedness for assault was likely to make some lightheaded crazy enough to make it. If he kept on in this way, it would be evident that he required an official inquiry into his sanity and that the State, to the regret of everybody, would have to look for another Adjutant General. Unthinkable as this is, it is no more ridiculous than the monumental demands for fighting equipment in the present peaceful situation of the United States.

The fact is the United States has never required and does not now require preparedness for war. In the light of history the assumptions that the nations with military power are only waiting to pounce upon a strong and remote people who mind their own business, is absurd. And there is less likelihood of the United States being forced into war at this time than at any other time in our history. The settlement of the country is about completed, and the character and relations of our political and religious institutions have been substantially determined. Slavery is gone. We are all under one flag. We have not two republics, with a possibility of twenty, between the St Lawrence and the Rio Grande, as we might have had if the men whom we revere tonight had not succeeded, and we have not the difficulties that would have arisen between the vigorous and ambitious peoples in so many sovereign republics. We have union as well as liberty, and it is the ark of our security and peace. Our relations with other nations are salutary. Foreign powers are not disposed to war with us. Our coasts are now secure enough against freebooting, and they are too remote for assault by any power, great or small, at least without unthinkable provocation. There is no peril, perhaps for very different reasons, on either our northern or our southern borders. The nation is not going to cross the seas to pick quarrels with other nations. We are not seeking empire. We are disposed to bear our share of the world's burdens, but it is doubtful if the sentiment or the conscience of the country would sustain a war waged for the privilege of training remote peoples in the system of government which means so much to us. What we need to do is to attend assiduously to our own business and go on developing our political institutions so that they may endure and afford

opportunity for the yet more complete and luxuriant outworking of our intellectual, our religious, and our industrial freedom.

It is fitting that such a nation should lead the movement for world peace, and it is a jewel in the crown of the Republic that she leads it so generously, so ably, and with so much weight of legal learning and official influence.

In a few months we shall look out from our church doors upon a noble and beautiful monument which the city is erecting out of respect for our soldier and sailor dead. It will honor the dead, and it will honor the living too. It will speak for the dead to the living, and it will speak for freedom and union, for law and order, for conciliation and concord, for equipoise and energy and progress, for the "peace on earth and good will toward men" which the angels proclaimed nearly two thousand years ago.

And, after all, purposes are stronger than statutes and feelings go further than treaties. The spirit and teachings of Christianity constitute the surest, indeed the only, bond of peace and progress that reaches around the world.

LINCOLN IN HIS WRITINGS

LINCOLN IN HIS WRITINGS¹

In the thought of the world Lincoln grows greater and greater with the passing of the years. The universal interest in all that concerns his career becomes more and more acute. The quest for information about all he did and all he thought has been incessant and untiring and ingenious. It can not be that there are many more incidents of his life to be discovered and sustained by good evidence, although it is likely enough that further search for the information which justified and the intellectual processes by which he reached well-known conclusions will be rewarded. Probably all the physical facts associated with his life that will ever be known are already known. The rest depend upon the reasoning of the judge and are matters of opinion.

To my mind there does not appear the slightest sign of popular reaction which a few have thought they saw. The common thought of the people dismisses many stories that have been related of Lincoln, and discounts much that has been said of him, and steadily deepens in its appreciation of him. The simple facts that are well known appeal more and more to the feelings of the multitude. It is not those things which are doubtful or mysterious, but the simple and sober facts of his modest and serious life and the irresistible outworking of his logical mind, that make the character of Lincoln more and yet more impressive with the unfolding years.

In this little book we are to set forth the greatest of his writings. They will be placed in chronological order. We shall see that he dealt with a definite though somewhat comprehensive subject. It involved the legal phases of his country's doings about African slavery. All else that he did bears only upon the personality of an interesting because unique character, and is subordinate to and far below the doings which place the progressive world under obligations to him. We shall see that associated with the extreme plainness of the man and the marked simplicity of his life there was logical reasoning that is inexorable and unanswerable, expressed in a literary style that has of itself impressed the world and is distinctly and completely his own. And we shall see

¹ Introduction to the Lincoln volume of the Gateway series.

that his legal reasoning crystallized and solidified, and that his manner of expression became yet more chaste and strong and distinctive as he moved on from the opening to the culmination of his career.

Seeing all this we necessarily ask the reasons for it, and we must find them not in the mysteries but in the verities of his life. One must now look upon Lincoln according to his own lights, his own views of men, and his own understanding of events. The simple view of a simple life, which through its very simplicity and its singular opportunity became great, is likely to be the truer one.

In childhood Lincoln was poor, deplorably poor. His father moved easily and was certainly unsubstantial. It is quite apparent that more and better than this may be said of his mother. The boy grew up tall and lank, but sinewy and strong. He lived almost wholly in the open, and engaged in the vocations of the farm, the country store, and the nearby river. He was at times exclusive and moody, and at other times he mixed freely in the primitive games and discussions of the neighborhood. He was never devoid of humor. He was aggressive enough even in his youth to make an early impression upon a rude civilization. His absolute honesty was always acknowledged. His spirit was warm in its kindness, exact in its sincerity, and reverent toward the higher things of life. From first to last he was a very plain American boy and man, intensely human, and he was always in political and professional activities which often make flaws or find fissures in human nature. But the most penetrating search into all he did has revealed no selfishness or guile among the splendid ingredients of his character.

He was educated. Any other view would be absurd. Of course he was without the finish and polish, the superficial artfulness, which too many think the exclusive evidence of education; but, better than that, his mind was trained into an efficient machine. It could gather and digest facts and draw conclusions and express them in a convincing way. Surely that is education. He was self-educated. He went to school but little. What he learned he dug out himself, and he dug out not a little but a great deal. He brought himself to square with knowledge that was exact. He knew as much of mathematics as any one in his region. He mastered grammar as well as mathematics. He was much interested in such exact development of the natural sciences as there had been up to his time. He read Shakespeare and Burns. He had a

propensity for poetry, particularly the "little sad songs," as he called them. He developed a phenomenal memory, could recall all he had read, and repeat verses and passages almost word for word. So his mind became not only trained, but stored. He acquired rich intellectual stores, and he also acquired the power to draw upon and use them. Relatively speaking —and the whole world is relative—he became intellectually wealthy and noted in the region round about for his mental powers and resources.

The further progress of his career was orderly and natural. There is little of the mysterious, and nothing of the supernatural, about it. It may be summed up in a sentence. He knew the fundamentals of the law and the groundwork of society; he liked politics; he became an expert on the relations of slavery to the political philosophy and institutions of the Republic; he foresaw the only attitude which his country could take upon that question and endure; he was able to make that plain to plain people: all the rest "did itself," for it was only the necessary result.

Lincoln was a fine lawyer. He tried many cases and argued many appeals; he had a large measure of professional success. He did not insult the judge, browbeat witnesses, quarrel with counsel, anger the jury, get beaten and then mislead and swindle his clients. He had care about the causes he espoused, but when he took up a burden he carried it to the end of the journey. There were not so many precedents in the law books in his day as now, and not so many law books. He would not have paid very much attention to them, if there had been, any more than the very great lawyers do now. His legal reasoning was of the kind that could stand alone. He knew the sources, the philosophy, and the spirit and intent of the law; and this knowledge, with his powers of application, carried him to an invulnerable position as to the justness of his cause. Seeing that clearly, he used all plainness and exactness of speech to compel the court or the jury to see it as he did.

Whether or not Mr. Lincoln was a "politician" depends upon the definition of the word. He was unquestionably fond of public life. He clearly enjoyed political campaigns. He looked after the selections of delegates, the nominations of candidates, and the declarations of conventions. He was a member of the Legislature several times, and of Congress once. He went through a long and notable canvass of Illinois for the office of United States Senator and was beaten by Senator Douglas. But it never occurs to any

one that all this was because he wanted office. It was all in consequence of his interest in the political life and health of the country. It was because his legal and logical mind tended very naturally to the making of laws, and became expert upon the political structure of the Republic. He was chosen to the presidency because he was the first to reconcile the moral feelings of the greater number of his countrymen with the fundamental laws of the country upon the momentous question of slavery; because he first declared the attitudes which the Republic must take upon that subject if it was to endure. The inherent sincerity of the man, his fascination for political philosophy, his new and definite position upon the slavery question, and his remarkable gifts in writing and speaking his opinions, forced him into the forum, and carried him to the presidency, in spite of the fact that he looked upon public life as something of a drawback and disadvantage to himself.

And what was his attitude upon the burning and consuming question of slavery? He was born in a slave state, understood the Southern people perfectly, and had much in common with them, but he believed that no man should "eat his bread in the sweat of another man's brow," and hoped for the time when "all men everywhere might be free." There were good men, and many of them, who would abolish slavery, at once, by law and if necessary by force, on the ground that it was an unmitigated evil and could justly be treated in no other way; but Mr Lincoln was not one of them. He did not localize responsibility for slavery in the South. He held, and truly, that the whole country had in the beginning participated in the evil, that it was legally recognized and approved by the convention which framed the Federal Constitution, and that if this had not been done there would have been no "more perfect Union." He saw that economic conditions had defeated the common hope that slavery would dwindle and perish, which was indulged by the fathers of the Republic. He thought that, whether repugnant to moral sense or not, the laws of the country conferred a legal right of property in slaves, and that laws were to be respected so long as they were laws. His lawyer-mind saw that slave owners had property in slaves which was given to them by the laws of the country, and he was opposed to taking this legal right away from them without paying them for the loss they would sustain. He was reluctant about taking it away, even with compensation, if without their consent. Moreover, he foresaw

that it was not possible to pass and enforce laws doing away with slavery, without bloodshed and without the real danger that the Union might be dissolved and democratic progress receive a blow from which it might not recover in generations. Therefore he was opposed to the forcible abolition of slavery at the time. So far as rights in slave property had been given by law, he would uphold them. As to slavery in the slave states, he would wait.

But slavery was more aggressive than freedom. Under one pretext or another, and with one plan of procedure or another, it sought to enter free territory. Its spokesmen were able, its sophistries were specious, and its determination was of the kind which realizes that its very life is at stake. It was coming to be that the atmosphere of the world was charged with the feeling that human bondage was a moral wrong and was doomed. The inconsistency of it in a new world republic dedicated to the principle that all men are entitled to equal rights under the law, was humiliating. It was beginning to look as though either slavery or freedom would have to go, in America at least. The expansion of the spirit of freedom only exasperated the slave system and made it more desperate. If the country was to become all slave or all free, the slave states were determined that it should become all slave. For half a century, in one way and another, it had been able to maintain at least a voting equilibrium in the Senate between slave states and free; it had managed to have a president from the South, or a "northern man with southern sympathies," practically all that time; and it had secured, perhaps not so illogically as the North thought, the decisions of the Supreme Court which extended legal rights over slaves taken into or fleeing into free territory.

All this and even more the North was disposed to acquiesce in reluctantly, rather than force a course which any could hold to be the unjust cause of a sectional war. But when Senator Douglas, of Illinois, the great leader of the political party that for half a century had been dominant in the nation, cast aside the compromises and agreements which had been the doubtful basis of a semblance of peace for a generation, and secured legislation giving slavery the legal opportunity to enter the free territories—the common lands of all the people—and thus acquire the political control in the nation and a preponderance of votes in the Senate, Lincoln shattered the sophistry of the senator and set the stakes beyond which, war or no war, slavery ought not to be allowed to go by so much as the breadth of a hair. He did it in a state in the

politics of which Douglas had been absolute master for a score of years; in a political campaign which took every last voter of the state into consideration; and with a result which showed that convictions were looking for opportunities to limit if not destroy the slave system, and which made the new tribune of the people the logical and inevitable candidate for the presidency. The returns of the presidential election withdrew eventualities from the hands of lawmakers and replaced them in the hands of the God of truth and freedom, as well as in the hands of the God of battles.

So much it has seemed necessary to say to recall to the reader's mind the setting of Lincoln's addresses and state papers. The purity of his literary style is entrancing. His effort to make what he wanted to say plain to any understanding in the fewest possible words is always apparent. Before he reached his zenith he had read many of the standard authors; he was fond of poetry; he could quote by the hour; but he drew upon literature hardly at all to embellish what he wrote and what he said. He had been a student of law and of politics, and was familiar with all that had been said upon the question of slavery; he had read the fathers of the Republic, and was familiar with Webster, Clay, and Calhoun, as he certainly was with Theodore Parker and Giddings and Greeley and Seward and Sumner; but he called none of them to the aid of his writings and his speeches. The substance of all he said was that slavery was fundamentally wrong; that while it might be tolerated within existing territorial limitations it must not be allowed to extend over an inch of free territory; that the progress of the world demanded that the union of the states be preserved at whatever hazard; that he would not bring on a war to abolish slavery, but would resist one to sever the Union; and that all the rest was necessarily in the keeping of the Almighty.

If Lincoln did not ornament his writings with quotations from the great orators and authors, he did not blemish them by the arts of the demagogue or by the use of the commonplace. Of course, before he came to the presidency his work was with a plain, hardy, pioneer people, and his illustrations were of a kind which would illustrate to them. But there was nothing of the commonplace in that; it was precisely that which trained his great power to express his convictions in ways to compel all people to understand. He had a keen sense of humor, and it helped him. He knew more anecdotes than most men, and in conversation he had no trouble in recalling one to aptly enforce his point; but he used them not at

all in his writings and most sparingly in his political addresses. In the great joint debates with Senator Douglas, neither of the speakers related a story.

Lincoln had no thought of producing "literature," although all he said and wrote makes fine reading now. His early political speeches show not a little ridicule and irony, a directness of thrust and a quickness of repartee which are of course absent from his later state papers, but there is nothing which might better have been omitted. Although his responsibilities became heavier and his words correspondingly serious as his career advanced, there is a uniformity of outlook and method and style from the beginning to the end of his career; and there is also a steadily growing consecration to a cause which was pathetically and completely crowned by the manner of his death.

To the graver and more stately public addresses which are best known we have added several more informal addresses to delegations, with which the people are much less familiar, and a considerable number of letters, of which by far the most people know nothing at all. To my mind these less known papers, hastily prepared and without thought of such use as we are making of them now, prove Lincoln's superior mind and magnanimous soul even more completely than do the more dignified state papers which are better known. They also go even further to show that his masterful and distinctive English style was a common habit. His grasp of fundamental principles never hesitated, his logic never faltered, his good, pure expression was as common as any other habit of his life.

The selections for this book have been made in the hope of exemplifying the uniform strength and beauty of his writings from the viewpoint of literature, and the compelling convictions and vital reasoning which did more than all else to make them so. From the very beginning his words were marked by much feeling, guided and governed by the clearest and closest legal reasoning; but with his coming to the presidency they are enshrouded in unavoidable pathos and sorrow, and throughout his administration they are bowed down with the griefs of his suffering country and countrymen, while they are uplifted by his trust in God and his unyielding confidence that democracy shall in some way endure. And what wonder, when of all men he realized that the acceptance of his reasoning and his conclusions meant war; when better than any other he knew that his inauguration, and the consequent dis-

charge of official duty as he saw it, made a dreadful war inevitable and immediate; and when his faith in the justice of the cause, in the great mission of the country, and in the overruling guidance of the Almighty was of the kind that made it necessary to go forward. In the light of all this he must be read much and often to be even partially understood. And he must be understood by his country if the country is to grow in strength, for it was given to him above other men to lay the legal and moral foundations of its strength.

THE EVOLUTION OF EDUCATION IN THE
UNITED STATES

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In a special sense education has had a development in America very unlike that in other countries. It is not necessary to look far to find the reason. It is in the inherent qualities of the people who crossed the wide sea in great perils to make new homes in a wilderness, and it is closely related to the remote, isolated, and independent situation which they came to occupy, as well as in the political and religious views which they came to hold and the relations that at first they sustained to the home governments which they set up for themselves in their new homes. One may rather easily see differences which distinguish the school systems of the American states from those of other countries, but he will be at a loss to see why those differences came to be or to understand what they really mean, unless he searches out the history and inquires into the motives of the people who were responsible for them.

The first settlers in America had to depend upon themselves. They doubtless expected that whatever was accomplished they would have to work out for themselves. Certainly all the known facts lead to that conclusion. With no understanding of what the circumstances were to be or of the difficulties they must encounter, they must have reasoned, in a brave way, that they were going to improve their situations, according to their understanding of what that would mean. They could have expected very little from government, because the governments of which they were subjects were selfish organizations, having enough to do to maintain themselves, and with little interest in their subjects beyond the perpetuation or extension of their own power; and also because they were unreliable if not rebellious subjects. The Pilgrim fathers came to the bleak Massachusetts coast mainly for freer religious privileges. They had fled from England to Holland for that reason, and had come from Holland to America to prevent their absorption by the Dutch. Apparently they would not have been able to reach America but for the aid of commercial speculators who received their compensation out of many years of labor of those whom they had aided. The Puritans who settled at Massa-

¹ Written June, 1911, for "The Foundation Library for Young People."

chusetts Bay came to America because of differences with the English government, which dominated both the state and the church, over questions relating to religious and political matters. Doubtless they came with a view to larger freedom, but mainly because they were in the minority in England; and it is clear enough that they came without expecting to separate themselves from the English political or religious systems, and also without looking for support from either of them. The English government was indifferent about them, but was naturally interested in English colonization. The first Dutch settlers came in the employ of the Dutch West India Company for the furtherance of trade and commerce.

In neither case was any fresh educational motive or any new plan about schools involved. There was no change whatever in the thought of either of these groups of early colonists about schools, for years after they made their homes in the new world. They intended to continue doing in the new world just what they had been doing in the old world about the education of their children. They did so continue until their democracy grew free and forceful and exerted its quickening influence upon education. Transition over the sea did not of itself create in these people a purpose which was not a factor in their plans when they moved out of a well-settled environment into an inchoate and unformed one. The Dutchmen continued to be Dutchmen, and the Englishmen continued to be Englishmen, just as long as they could. They expected to continue the ways of Dutchmen and Englishmen about weaving and farming and teaching and everything else, with the possible exception that they hoped to have their own way a little more freely about managing their religious matters and about the forms and ceremonies and other arrangements in their churches. They had no conception whatever of the new religious, political, industrial or physical development which has since then made America what it is. Many writers, not excepting many historical writers, have said much in apparent oblivion of that fact.

So the first American settlers did the altogether natural thing so far as schools were concerned. The Pilgrims did nothing for at least fifty years after landing. They let little that they did go unrecorded, and there is no record whatever of any school in the Plymouth Colony until after 1670. The Dutch at New Amsterdam did organize schools very soon after there were enough of them there to set up any kind of a government or do anything else that

required organizing and managing. They had been accustomed in Holland to free primary schools as well as universities, for through the successful struggle for independence from Spain they had gained some of the attributes of democratic self-government. When they settled in the new world by the assistance of, and to carry on the business of, the Dutch West India Company, and also to give the Netherland Republic a colony in the new world, they were enjoined to set up schools as well as churches. Schoolmasters were a part of the governmental establishment of Holland. The little colony at the mouth of the Hudson asked that schoolmasters be sent over, and they were sent over. They organized and maintained many schools in the first generation of the colony, and at least one of those schools continues to this day. The Puritans at Massachusetts Bay organized Harvard College before they did an elementary school. That too was logical. It was setting up the English plan. That plan trained the favored few for the offices of the church and state, which were all one in New England as in Old England; and the Puritans were content if the rest learned enough to read the Bible, which a good many of them failed to do. For long years a great many never acquired the power to write their names. There is no evidence of primary schools in the Massachusetts colony for many years after the settlement. A "Latin school" was set up soon after the college and as a feeder to it, and in a generation or two other "Latin schools," with like motive and plan, were established in the villages that sprung up around the country; but generations of New Englanders had to come and go before there was any realization, or indeed any conception, of the independent and common school, managed by the civil state without domination by the church, in which all children had equal rights and identical opportunities.

While the little light of democracy was flickering in the rather inhospitable new world socket, the teaching of the children in secular as well as religious matters was left to the churches. The ministers were dominant in all the affairs of the people. They were the best educated men in the community and had peculiar standing and prerogative through the interdependence of church and state. Their influence over political policies was decisive and they had theories, which not only banished those who differed with them from the colony and sent them to the wilderness and the savages, but also consigned their souls to lakes of brimstone which were already on fire and which they confidently predicted would

burn forever. The theories of these men being widely, almost universally, accepted in a theocratic civil government, their influence was decisive. Of course they were men of lofty character, and it is more than possible that an ignorant people had better be under such influences than weaker ones. In any event, the clergymen held the education of the people in their hands from the beginning to the end of the colonial period in America.

The world ideals of education were low, and surely they could not be otherwise among a people who were almost wholly without books, who had to struggle with all their might for bread, and who were not only continually harassed and many of them massacred by Indians, but were also engaged in constant and bloody wars which were to settle whether savagery or civilization, whether the English or the French kings and systems of government, or whether democracy and independence should prevail in the land. All through this long and trying period the minister went from house to house making his pastoral calls and incidentally seeing to it that the children were taught to read. That was a duty which he told the parents devolved upon them. If they could perform it and did not, he was unsparing in his censure because in his view if the soul of the child were lost it would be their fault. If they could not do it, he made some arrangement to have it done by a neighbor if that were practicable, and if it were not he probably did it himself. This system very naturally grew into parish schools under the minister's charge and often taught by him or his assistant. In this way the teacher of the school often came to be an assistant to the minister. Certainly the teacher was appointed by the minister or with his approval. Of course, whatever was done in the school must have his approbation, for it had to conform to the doctrines and theories of the church over which he presided with a spiritual purpose and an autocratic power which no ordinary mortal dared question.

It must not be supposed that these parish schools were worthless. Of course, they would make a very sorry comparison with our modern schools, but the minister was, in nine cases out of ten, the best educated man in the village and often he was a classical scholar. The school was a primitive one, to be sure, but very often it drilled in the elements of power so thoroughly that the child was well equipped for the simple life he was to lead. And the life he was to lead was one which often did much to sharpen his perceptive and observing faculties, as it certainly did much to

establish industrial habits that were both regular and educative. The school was small and each child had the advantage of the close attention of the teacher and, almost without exception, the teacher was a young man or woman of excellent quality and ambitious purpose who was directly and keenly interested in the proficiency and well-being of each child.

But these schools were "few and far between." They were necessarily limited to the small hamlets that had grown to be large enough to support a church. There was not much living far from the hamlets and villages through the colonial days because of the danger from Indians and wild animals. The whole country was in danger from Indians until after the Revolution. The people had to live together to protect themselves, and of course it would have been impossible for children to go far from home in an unsettled country in order to attend school. Moreover, there were no schools and could be none outside of the little settlements, and there were no safe highways for travel. So the colonial schools in America were very few, and what there were had departed very little from the circumstances and character of the schools in the old countries from which the people or their ancestors had come.

This was so not only because the habits and thinking of the people were very fixed and slow of change, but more particularly because of the control of the home government over the affairs of the colonies. The English government had become practically supreme and universal in all the colonies before the Revolution, and that government was opposed to any system of schools for the free and liberal education of all the children of the people. It adhered, of course, to the educational policy which prevailed, and for practical purposes still prevails, in England. That policy trained the children of the favored class through fitting schools and colleges for service in the church and state, or with a view to an idle sort of life in aristocratic society, and in very simple primary schools it taught the children of the working classes to read and write, but it was distinctly opposed to educating the masses very liberally, for fear that they would learn and exact their natural rights. That policy kept the poor down quite as much as it helped the rich up, and it was insisted upon in America quite as much as in England. There was little trouble in carrying out this policy in New England where the English feeling and outlook were strong, but in New York where the Dutch influence still prevailed, there was frequent conflict between the Dutch

colonial legislature and the English royal governor over schools for all the people. Taking all things together, it is not at all strange that in all America there were, prior to the separation from Great Britain, only a half dozen weak colleges, with a small number of fitting schools or "academies" in the larger or more progressive towns for the more well-to-do, and a weak but respectable primary school under church influences in the villages for the children of the masses.

These schools had no organic relationship and not much in common. Each was wholly dependent upon its own constituents and a law unto itself. No one ever thought of state support for elementary schools. The home government gave no moneyed support to colonial schools. A colony had, in several instances, given some aid to a colonial college, but the academies and primary schools had to depend upon the support of those who patronized them. The usual rule of support was that each family should pay ratably according to the number of days the children of the household attended the school. Indeed, it must be said that this manner of support continued for many years after independence was attained. There was no acceptance as yet of the doctrine that all the property of the people is pledged to educate all the children of the people. But national independence was to change all this, slowly and hesitatingly at first and then rapidly and forcefully.

With national independence there came a new national feeling. The long war which gained independence had pretty nearly overthrown all the schools that were in operation, but it had also monopolized the thought of the people. All thought was upon military success; and the hard times, enormous debts and scarcity of money, made plans for intellectual progress, for the time being, impracticable. But with independence there was responsibility, and the people were nearly all of a race that rises to responsibility courageously. With a buoyant spirit and a hopeful outlook, they realized that now there could be no European interference with their educational plans, and also that if they had any they would have to make them themselves. The few colleges were reopened, academies were rehabilitated and more were established, and the elementary schools began to take shape and form again. The momentous work of developing a national system of schools was begun.

Of course it had to go slowly, for there was none to copy after. It is doubtful if the people would have copied any other system

anyway, for it was long years before they were disposed to approve anything in Europe, no matter how much merit it might have. But there was no system in Europe which could be adopted in whole, and there was not much in the European systems that was adaptable to American ideas. A pure democracy, and particularly one that was rather conceited and bumptious, had to have a school system of its own. To evolve such a system it had to move with uncertain steps, make mistakes and profit by them, and be guided by needs that could not be anticipated. Democratic government had to unfold slowly and wait long before it could know what it wanted or what it could do in the way of schools.

It is now nearly a century and a half since independence of old world government was declared. About one-half of that period was required to develop schools and weld them together into some sort of a coherent system, and the other half has been occupied in making that system responsive to the continually advancing ideas of people who have been steadily enlarging their political power and have been intent upon using it to suit themselves. Up to the middle of the nineteenth century the aim was to establish schools within reach of every home, and the homes were being made upon new land, not only in the old states but in the new states that were being formed all the way to the Pacific coast. It had become more and more safe to live somewhat widely apart, for the Indians had been subdued, and dangerous animals were rapidly destroyed. The people very generally appreciated the need of schools, but of course there were many who did not feel very keenly about it, and many more who could not distinguish between a good school and a worthless one. The oversight of the ministers was now being withdrawn because people of different denominations were settling the new territory and objection was being made to sectarian influences in the schools. The state governments began to do some things to encourage the spread of schools, although it was hard for them to realize that they were bound to do much more than encourage the people to maintain schools by giving them a little money and sending them some benevolent advice. But they created state school funds and distributed them to schools on the basis of attendance of pupils or of expenses incurred by local communities. This involved the keeping of records, and the collating and publication of them, and comparisons appealed to local pride and roused public sentiment. School districts were formed and laws relating to the character and course

of the schools began to be enacted. Long before 1850 some rather definite steps had been taken to assure reasonable qualifications on the part of the teachers. In the New England states this was done in a very indifferent way by requiring the sanction of the "school committee" or the "selectmen" of the town, or of the minister or a committee of ministers; in the Middle States school commissioners or superintendents issued licenses to teachers but often these licenses were issued as a matter of favor, political or otherwise, and very frequently there was no examination and no capacity for holding an examination. The whole system was crude, but still sprung up wherever settlers established their homes. The people managed the affairs of these schools for themselves by meeting annually or oftener in "school meetings" for that purpose and by appointing trustees or directors who transacted the business of the districts between meetings. In this way the people were themselves trained in public business and their interest in affairs of common concern was much augmented. By this means also the schools became knitted together into a system, and the relations to other schools which they came gradually to sustain were helpful to each. The affairs of all the schools were more and more regulated and the whole system gathered both coherency and enthusiasm.

In later years we have erected more imposing schoolhouses, developed a more highly educated and uniformly trained teaching force, increased greatly in the number of pupils, and so created an infinitely more substantial school system than we had through the middle years of the nineteenth century, but there is no period in the educational progress of this or any other country more interesting to the student of education, and none reflecting more honor upon the people concerned in it, than the period which witnessed the full and virile maturity of the old order of schools and saw them as they were coming, without knowing it, to the transformation into the new order. Those schools were both the products and the servants of a primitive but still a high and aggressive civilization. To appreciate either that civilization or its schools one must remember that it was essentially comprised of people of Anglo-Saxon blood, with strong religious feeling and seasoned industrial habits, breaking a new land and bent upon upbuilding an intellectual empire and a political estate which should be the ample proof of their wisdom, or the wisdom of their fathers, in moving out of an old and settled civilization into a new

one which they could shape to their own satisfaction. Those people were essentially an agricultural people. Freed from the harassing conditions of both white and Indian warfare, they had spread over large areas of farming and forest country and they had been made hardy, both in body and mind, by the fact that they had had to defend themselves against dangerous foes and get their living out of an often unconquerable soil. It was before the time of much railroad development. There were not many attractive towns and little to lead the most ambitious young men and women to think that they could better their situations by going away from home. The literature they read, and they did read, would seem dry to this generation, but it was good intellectual and moral pabulum, and there was little in it to disturb the attachments which all had for the local situation. The families were large and there were live boys and girls in plenty. So there had to be schools in reach of every house, and the district schoolhouse became the center of innumerable activities of a culturing and stimulating character.

The schoolhouses by the roadside, two or three miles apart, or certainly at every crossroad, were one-room, weather-worn affairs. At the time of which we are speaking they were ordinarily clapboarded structures painted red; and so gave rise to the phrase, "the little red schoolhouse," which all real Americans cherish. Sometimes there was a line of white up and down the corners and along the eaves, in response to the natural trend toward colonial architecture, but there was nothing more in the way of adornment. But no one would be struck with consternation if it had never been painted at all, or if that had been done so long ago that no vestige of color remained. Indeed, not infrequently these houses were of logs or stone. It made little difference, for the interest was in what was doing rather than in the building in which it was done. The old house was not very often replaced with a new one because there was little money in the neighborhood and old things were made to do until they could do no longer. So the house, inside and out, bore the markings of divers generations of boys and girls who had to find some way for making themselves remembered to the generations that were to come after them.

The furnishings were plain enough. The desks for both teacher and pupils had been made by a carpenter. At first they were strung along the walls, but later they were set across the room in two or

three rows. They were sufficiently inclosed to cover up as much skulduggery as boys fell into, and that was often considerable. There was a wooden blackboard standing upon a rickety easel or hung upon the wall. A wood-burning stove stood in the middle of the room, or a little back from the center, and in the corner there was a mop, a broom, and a "patent pail" with a tin dipper. The boys kept up the fire in cold weather, and as a reward for being "good" the favored children were allowed to go to the nearest neighbors for a pail of water, morning and afternoon, to the end that the childish thirst might not become fatal. When the warm days came in spring, teacher and pupils would break the routine and make a spurt and clean the schoolhouse.

There were two classes of teachers who taught and two classes of pupils who attended these schools. In the summer a young woman, commonly the half-grown daughter of a near-by farmer, taught primary children, and in the winter a stalwart young man, very likely from out of the district, taught stalwart boys and buxom girls. The teaching in the summer time was necessarily confined to the "A B C's" and a little printing upon a slate. The textbooks were few, crude and unattractive, but the whole world is relative and when children know of nothing better they get a good deal out of what they have. In the winter there was more serious work in more ways than one. The teacher had to be able to teach school and he also had to be able to *keep* school, for he had pupils who were mentally alert and physically strong. The teaching extended into every subject and went as far in every subject as there was any one in the district to demand. If the teacher could be balked on any abstruse proposition in the natural or mathematical sciences, he needed to move into another district, if he could find one that had not heard of his misfortune, and there take time for brushing up. But he had other than intellectual pitfalls. Every teacher who took a new school for the winter well knew that he would have to settle it very soon whether he could control the school. Often this was a question of physical strength. It was no uncommon thing for the bigger boys to combine in an attack upon the teacher, and often the teacher was put out of the schoolhouse or even "ducked" in a snowbank. So the school-teaching not only called for young men and women who were alert and forceful, both in body and mind, but it gave them the very best training they could have wished to have.

But the school itself was by no means all there was of the

district school. It was the center of all sorts of neighborhood gatherings. Prayer meetings were held there nearly every week, and it was wide open to political meetings with the recurring campaigns. Many a coming statesman got his first real practice in expounding the political gospel in the district schoolhouse, and many a political leader learned his first lessons about organization in manipulating the affairs of the country school district. And there were "spelling bees," and singing schools, and debating societies, and whatever else could provide a little intellectual exhilaration to a people who loved it, and could provide some excuse for the boys and girls getting together.

All in all the district school, taken in connection with the round of work at home in which every member of the family had to have a part, provided an excellent training for the life which its patrons were to live. Indeed, it went so much further than that in a great many cases that it trained not a few men for leadership in the great affairs of their state and country. Its "courses of study" were not laid out very scientifically; it did not lead to schools above; its teaching was marked by more substance than "methods"; its discipline was often fitful, and punishments were commonly absurd and sometimes brutally severe; but it trained boys and girls for the life they were to lead, and it inspired many a one to strong advances into the great things of life; and, on the whole, it met the needs of an exacting people living in pioneer and primitive conditions much better than the schools which now have so much in the way of sumptuous embellishments and professional management can meet the requirements of the more complex civilization of later days.

Until after the middle of the last century there was little apart from the simple school in the "little red schoolhouse" for nearly all American children. The schools in the villages were not unlike those in the farming districts except where the village had grown to the importance and dignity of establishing an "academy." Of these there came to be a few in the important towns which were somewhat aided by small state appropriations in some of the states, and which gave some advanced instruction in mathematics and began instruction in the ancient languages. They were, in almost every case, fitting schools for particular colleges, in so far as they prepared pupils for college at all, and they had the cordial sympathy of the colleges to which they influenced their pupils to go. Some of the academies made some point of preparing teach-

ers, and in some cases they secured state aid for this work. But their main support had to come from tuition fees, and very often they were obliged to augment the tuition fees by instruction in the elementary or primary branches. These institutions were mainly for boys. The colleges accepted no students but boys. As an offset to this there was a development of "female seminaries" by teachers who thought they saw an opportunity to aid girls and make a living, and some of these gained considerable renown. Here and there in the cities a "business school" was set up to train boys in business methods, and some of these attracted and helped considerable numbers. But the "district school" was the main reliance of more than nine-tenths of the people until the rising intelligence and the advancing democracy of the nation broke out into a new movement of national, and of even international, significance.

That was the evolution of public high schools. These tax-supported institutions, rising above the district schools, constituted the popular offset to the more aristocratic if not more exclusive academies. The academies were, in the nature of things, aristocratic, even though they did not wish it so. There were but few colleges, and only the sons of the well-to-do went to college at all. Institutions that fitted for college were, in consequence of that fact, exclusive. Classical learning was not at all usual and institutions that provided it were necessarily somewhat exclusive. And the tuition fees were also exclusive. In a word, the academies were in a very considerable sense appurtenances of the colleges: they had been pushed down among the people by the colleges in order to secure students for themselves. The time came when all this was a little irritating to the masses of people who began to look for a means of providing for their own children the training which their more well-to-do neighbors found for their children in the academies because they were able to pay for it. They found it in high schools supported and managed by the public the same as the elementary schools. They were "common schools" just like the district schools, and they opened their advantages to girls as well as boys. There was vehement opposition in many quarters to charging such an expense upon the public treasury, but it was soon established that it was within the political and constitutional power of the people to do this if they wished, and before long a high school found a home in every considerable town or village. It caused the overthrow of many of the

academies, because the high schools ordinarily became quite as efficient as the academies, and not many people would pay for instruction when they could get quite as good without charge. Many academies became the public high schools of their towns or districts. But good high schools, which fitted for college and also for life work as well or even better than the more exclusive institutions had done before, came into being in every considerable community without reference to whether an academy had been there before or not.

The results were many and decisive. Education was uplifted throughout the country. The high schools reacted in a most stimulating way upon the elementary schools. Their pupils began to look forward to going to the high school as they had not thought of going to the academy, and their teachers were forced to the necessity of systematic courses and exact teaching which would prepare their pupils to sustain themselves in the high schools. There was a new "yardstick" above by which the work of the elementary schools must be measured.

The high schools became "connecting links" in making an American system of education. Before they came there had been an hiatus, a break in the road, which prevented the far greater number of children from going beyond the elementary schools. The academies did not reach the masses. In four-fifths of the territory there were no academies; in the one-fifth they were not *free* schools, as in the very nature of things they could not be. Of course, free schools of grade sufficiently advanced to prepare for college or for a stronger part in a manner of life that was steadily becoming more complex, had tremendous effects upon the educational system and upon the thinking of the people.

One of those effects was to increase the attendance at the colleges and create more colleges. That in turn developed real universities. There was not a real university in the United States before the latter half of the nineteenth century was well advanced, although there were several institutions which called themselves such. The difficulty was that the people of the country were not yet ready to support a real university, and educational sentiment in America was possibly not yet very conversant with what must be the attributes of institutions that had good right to use the name.

The high school evolution went further than anything else to create a new type of university, a really *democratic* university

as well as a real university, in the United States. That was the state university. Of course, there were so-called state universities in the newer western states before the high school movement amounted to much. It was usual for the newly formed states to provide for a state university in their constitutions. But they amounted to nothing more than fair colleges, and sometimes to nothing more than a fair high school, until energized and expanded by the conjuncture of the high school evolution with federal aid to higher learning provided by the Congressional land grant act of 1862. These two helps coming together worked out great universities, managed and supported by the public, in all the newer states. Of course they shaped their work to meet the thinking and minister to the vocations of the people. And of course they shocked the classically hidebound leaders of the older and endowed and more exclusive colleges of the East. All the same, they went on proving that learning might well concern itself with things that related to modern times and that might uplift living men and women by helping them to do better the work they would have to do. They admitted students upon their diplomas from the high schools. Some students failed in their work, but they had the "chance" which Americans love; if they failed it was their own fault; certainly there was no exclusiveness or favoritism, no keeping students out because they could not pay tuition fees, or retaining students when they could not do their work simply because they could pay fees. Then, too, the state universities charted out the work of the high schools, shaped their courses, and inspected their teaching. Rapidly they trained teachers for all the schools below them and particularly for the high schools. They "approved" high schools which met their standards, and local pride required the high schools at least to advance to the point where they would be "approved" by the universities. The endowed universities had to bend to all this, or expect that great, strong, *free* universities would be established within a few years and not many miles away. Indeed, that has been done in some cases, so the educational system has been made continuous; not only four more, but eight more, grades above the elementary schools have been added to it; the educational system has been made much freer, both pedagogically and financially, from bottom to top, and in the older states as well as in the newer ones.

There is another factor than the evolution of high schools which, at least at the beginning, was peculiar to America, and has had an

uplifting and consolidating influence upon American education. That is the superintendence by experts. It grew out of the state aid and the support by local taxation. Where the money of the people went their management had to go. Schools supported by the public had not only to meet public sentiment, but they had to be worthy of the public. This could be assured only through the oversight of professional superintendents with very considerable powers. The system, as to states, was commenced in the State of New York in 1812, by the creation of the office of state superintendent of common schools; and as to cities it was inaugurated in the city of Buffalo in 1837 by the creation of the office of city superintendent of schools. There are now such officers in all the states and in practically all the cities and larger villages, but it was not until long after the middle of the century that they came to have sufficient authority to be efficient. They have much to do with certifying, employing, and supervising the teachers; with making the courses of study, and with the progress of pupils through a systematic course of study until a definite goal is reached. It must be said too that this system of professional supervision has been extended, with more or less completeness, into the rural districts. Indeed, there was a county or township supervision of the schools at a very early day—in New York as early as 1795—but it was upon the business rather than the educational, or at least the professional, side of their activities. In more recent years nearly all the states have made serious efforts to give to the country schools the advantages of professional supervision which the cities and towns enjoy. Nothing has contributed to the upbuilding and the efficiency of individual schools, or individual systems of schools, and also to the uniform excellence, solidarity, and comprehensiveness of the whole educational system of a state, so much as this management by the most experienced teachers and the most successful professional administrators.

Next to the growth of high schools and the consequent growth of colleges and universities, and the very complete organization of the system of professional supervision, American education is probably indebted to the multiplicity of voluntary educational assemblies. We are a people who love to travel, and the railroad companies are not at all adverse to the gratification of our passion. Indeed, if we show any lethargy in that direction, they are quick to stimulate us with attractive propositions. Not only do the teachers in every city and county have organizations which meet

regularly, but in every state there is a teachers' association which holds annual meetings, calling together from one thousand to five thousand teachers, and the National Education Association meets every year with an attendance of from five thousand to thirty thousand teachers. An American teacher thinks nothing of traveling a thousand or three thousand miles to attend an educational convention. The longer the distance the better the teacher is suited, so far as the fatigue or discomfort of travel may be concerned. The expense is provided for long in advance and cheerfully paid for the sake of the knowledge of the country and the enthusiasm of the large crowds and the stimulus of the leading teachers who speak at the convention.

It would be wholly unjust to imagine that these meetings—local, state and national, are mainly for the mere love of journeying. That is of course a factor but it is not the controlling factor. The larger factor is the conscientious purpose to lose no advantage which will contribute to the knowledge and efficiency of the teacher. It has been drilled into teachers that they can not get to or keep at the front of the teaching service unless they attend these conventions and see and hear the leading teachers. In the older states they are sometimes a little disposed to question it, but in all the newer states they never doubt it. In all the states west of the Allegheny mountains it is usual to see three or four thousand teachers at a state meeting. They pay their dollars and engage the most interesting speakers in the country, and they come early and stay to the end that they may not lose a word.

These voluntary meetings of great numbers stir enthusiasm and disseminate ideas in a marvelous way. Each city is bound to have the latest ideas, and each state does what it thinks it can do to keep from getting behind any other state. As a result, self-energizing and self-expanding vigor permeates the whole educational system. And out of this, quite as much as out of the intellectual or professional or industrial demands of the country, there have grown schools of every kind and of every grade.

No sketch of American education would be at all comprehensive which failed to notice the sharp advance which has been made in the last quarter century in uplifting and multiplying the learned professions. In that time most of the states have established both the preliminary educational requirements which candidates for the professions must meet before being allowed to enter professional schools, and also the professional courses which they must com-

plete before being allowed to enter the State professional examinations. The trend in recent years has been overwhelmingly in the direction of training in professional schools rather than in the offices of practitioners. Indeed, the demand of recent years has been for training in schools that are taught by paid teachers who are not engaged in professional practice rather than in schools carried on by practitioners. This has given decided impetus to professional schools and produced unprecedented growth in revenues, faculties, equipment and students. All the leading universities now have professional schools of nearly every kind that are very well provided for; and independent professional schools, of more or less worth, have sprung up in all the centers of population. Out of it all there has arisen the imperative necessity of regulating and approving schools that are believed to be capable of providing, and show the disposition to enforce, a training for each of the professions which the state can think consistent with the progress of its intellectual and professional life and the protection of its people against charlatans and scamps; and of outlawing and prohibiting schools that seek the money of the people without a return which the state can accept as a reasonable compliance with what it is bound to demand.

The ambition of the young men of the United States, and to some extent of the young women also, to enter the learned professions, seems to be almost universal. It is clear enough that it is an ambition which ought to be curbed and directed, for the professions are overcrowded, and many who manage to enter them would find happier and more profitable employment in an industrial or commercial vocation. In very recent years much has been done in the best educational states to guide pupils in the public schools, and others, into industrial employments, or at least to provide the facilities for industrial training and to correlate them with the ordinary schools, so that there need be no excuse for the mistakes in choosing life work which a great many have manifestly made. Schools for general industrial training in employments where many workmen work together and use much machinery, and also schools which train workmen for individual employments carried on by their own unaided hands and with their own tools, and for classes of work in which both girls and boys are interested, have been authorized in the public school systems of many states, and in some cases they have been encouraged by direct state appropriations. The central idea of this new

movement in industrial education must be distinguished from that of the manual training movement of a generation ago. The manual training movement was regarded as an aid to general culture, or its motive was the quickening of intellectual acumen and grasp; while the motive of the new movement is nothing short of the training of workmen who will do things with their hands. Of course the training of their heads is not neglected, and it is assumed that the training of their hands will train their heads also; but the point is to train skilled workmen in the confidence that that will both enlarge the happiness of the people and the prosperity of the country.

From what has now been said, any boy or girl ought to be able to see that it is not necessary to make serious mistakes or to go ahead blindly in the matter of choosing and preparing for life work. The facilities are all at hand, or will be by the time the candidate is ready for them. All he has to do is to take the next step by thinking about what he would like to do and by laying hold of the helps that are close at hand and that lead in the direction of his tastes. In a little time he will know better what to do and he will find other aids. By the time he comes to the place where the roads part he will be likely to know whether he wants to go into law, or medicine, or civil engineering, or electrical engineering, or cabinet-making, or plumbing, or a cotton factory, or a watch factory, or a locomotive works, or something else. He can aid his choice by looking around and peering into things and talking with people. And when he has acquired the feeling that he would like and can succeed at some particular thing, he can easily find out how long it will take and how much it will cost to prepare himself for that vocation. The teachers in the schools are only too glad to converse with pupils about such matters; the managers of factories are ordinarily very considerate in affording information to young inquirers who go about it in a civil and polite way; and the presidents and registrars of universities, colleges and schools will fall off their stately chairs rather than disencourage prospective students from coming to them.

Perhaps it ought to be said that the men and women succeed most completely in the long run, who lay the broadest foundations early in life. So it may really be a gain to go through college before taking a course in a professional school, even when one may enter the professional school without first going through college. Even though one feels that he can not afford the expense,

it may be better, if he is in good health, to borrow the money and secure its payment by an insurance policy upon his life, or it may be better to take time to earn the necessary money, before going to college or during the college course, than to go without it. While there are plenty of men and women who have succeeded much more strongly without going to college than many have who have graduated from college, the presumptions are altogether in favor of the college training for one who is in real earnest about making the most of himself. But it is better to look the ground all over, send for the catalogs of the schools and perhaps visit them and see what they are doing, before committing one's self to a plan that means so much time and effort and money.

Not only do schools of every grade and for every purpose invite the attendance of pupils, but there are schools which instruct pupils by correspondence and without expecting their attendance. No one would claim that a pupil is likely to progress in this way as satisfactorily as by attendance, but such as can not attend may accomplish a great deal by correspondence. One may have a choice of courses in these schools, then the lessons are assigned and questions answered by letter, and examinations held upon papers sent by mail. It is not the best way to get an education, but an earnest seeker after knowledge may find a good deal of it in this way.

The actual extent of the American educational system can only be shown by statistics, and the figures are so large that it is difficult to appreciate them. In the common schools of the United States there were employed, in the year 1908-9, 506,040 teachers. That is, there were more teachers in the public schools than there were people in the cities of Cincinnati, Ohio, and Omaha, Nebraska, taken together.

There were in the public elementary schools 16,643,149 pupils, and in the private elementary schools 1,316,900 pupils. There were in the public high schools, 863,026 pupils, and in the private academies, 171,801 pupils. And there were in the public higher institutions, including universities, colleges, and professional schools of all kinds, 152,768 students, and in the endowed higher institutions 178,647 students. Taken together, there were in the elementary schools 17,960,049 pupils, in the secondary schools 1,034,827 pupils, and in the higher institutions 331,415 students. There were in public institutions 17,658,943 pupils and students, and in the private or endowed institutions there were 1,667,348. Of each one

hundred, 92.9 are in the elementary schools, 5.3 in the high schools, and 1.7 in the advanced institutions. About 1 in 5 of all the people of the country are in the elementary schools; about 1 in 90 are attending high schools; and about 1 in 270 are going to an institution of higher grade. The attendance upon all American schools in the year was 19,326,291 different persons.

To see what a host this means, let us say that if all the college students were to march in a procession, in pairs, and three feet apart, the line would extend more than 94 miles, and farther than from New York to Philadelphia. If the pupils in the high schools were to march four abreast they would make a procession 147 miles long and extending farther than from Philadelphia to Washington. If the children in the elementary schools were to march four abreast and three feet apart, the line would extend 2551 miles. And if all who are attending school in the United States were to form a grand procession, four abreast and three feet apart, it would be grand indeed, for the line would extend 2745 miles, or about as far as from New York to San Francisco.

To show the trend in American education it may be said that the percentage of pupils preparing for college in the high schools has been steadily declining in recent years. Twenty years ago about 15 in every 100 pupils in the public high schools intended to go to college, while now only 5 in 100 are planning to do so. The same fact appears in the private academies, although the percentages that are naturally larger. Twenty years ago 27 in every 100 pupils in the private secondary schools were preparing for college, while now there are only 16 in 100 who are doing so. Very possibly the percentages have been affected by the extension of the secondary schools into new territory, and into classes of work that were not formerly carried on in the high schools; but in any event it is clear enough that the American secondary schools are not in any exclusive sense college preparatory schools. It must be said, however, that of all who enter the high schools, both public and private, about 10 in 100 graduated twenty years ago and about 12 complete the course now. Of those who graduated from all the middle schools, about 35 in 100 went to college, and the number has not varied materially in twenty years. But the rather significant fact appears that the percentage of graduates from public high schools who go to college has been steadily increasing in the last twenty years, while the percentage of graduates of private academies who go to college has been as steadily decreasing. It is not possible to

follow this interesting phase of education further in such a paper as this, but surely we have seen enough to make it clear that democracy, the power and the intelligence of the common people, is working its way out in America as it is in no other country in the world.

It could not be otherwise, for the government, the dominating and controlling influence in our schools, is thoroughly democratic. We have spoken of the professional superintendence which the laws of the states have extended over all the public schools, but no one will imagine that this is at all likely to overthrow, or to come into any conflict with, the lay element in saying what they shall do. The people say what they shall do and pay for having it done, and the professional experts say how it may be done best, and look after getting it done.

In America the sovereign educational authority is with the states. Nothing was said about it in the Federal Constitution, and no authority over schools has ever been delegated by the states to the United States. The Federal government has made many and noble gifts to education, and has sometimes prescribed the conditions upon which they might be secured: it provides for training men for the army and navy, for teaching the Indians and other dependent classes in the territories and the island possessions over the seas, but it has never invaded the exclusive power of the states to educate their own people as they see fit. The states legislate upon the educational instrumentalities which the people demand. This legislation is imperative because the public school system rests upon the power of taxation, and that is a sovereign power, and the state governments alone exercise that power for the support of common schools in the several states.

But the legislation of the states reflects the popular feeling and the common progress, and the states race with each other to keep in the lead upon a matter which has come to be very nearly a universal passion in the United States. And, however much the powers to do things in connection with the schools must proceed from the governments of the states, those powers are exercised by the people in their local assemblages or by officers chosen by them, or appointed by officials chosen by them, at popular elections. The school government is the most democratic government in America or in the world. Very commonly the constitutions of the states require the state legislature to see to it that there is an adequate system of schools "wherein all the children of the state may be

educated." Under these provisions the system of education becomes a state system, and is not left to the mercies of the city, county, or township authorities. All the territory of the state is divided into districts which are made to conform to the circumstances of population. Ordinarily they are very small: in many states there are ten or twelve thousand of them; but the cities are school districts too, and so they may be very large or at least very populous. In the case of cities, the school district is governed by a board of education, sometimes elected by the people but more commonly appointed by the mayor, not because such appointment is a city function but for convenience and because the appointments can not be made by so many people without mixing the matter with party politics or municipal business, and it is desirable that they shall be made by some general officer who has been chosen by the people to a conspicuous and responsible position. In the country the schools are governed by trustees or a board of education chosen by the people at annual school meetings, where it is practicable to do it in that way; or, where it is not, the choice is made at an election held apart from an election for other purposes. In the same way the taxes are levied for buildings, the salaries of teachers, and all the ordinary expenses of the schools. The government of the schools is therefore wholly in the hands of the people so long as they show a disposition to maintain suitable schools, as they ordinarily do. They may elaborate their schools indefinitely. It is only where they are indifferent that the state steps in and insists upon the maintenance of schools which conform reasonably to the requirements of the state constitution. The local school authorities manage the business of the schools just as they please, so long as they manage it honestly and with intent to realize the purpose of the laws under which they exist. They appoint such teachers as they like, so long as they name those who have the educational proficiency exacted by the laws and the state system of education. And the requirements and limitations of the laws only express the intelligence and the intent of the majority of the people of the state. So it may truly be said that the American system of education is distinctly a unique national system and that it is particularly expressive of the spirit and purpose of the masses.

Of course there are educational instrumentalities outside of the schools, and of course many of the schools carry their activities far beyond the boundaries of the school grounds. We are a nation

of readers, and libraries in great numbers, and some of vast proportions, minister to our demands for information and for the literary treasures of the world. The daily, weekly, and monthly periodicals and magazines cater to our tastes, both good and bad. We love the public assemblage and are fond of the public speaker. We are interested in music and the drama. We are a nation of travelers, and have little difficulty in finding ways for getting about, both at home and abroad. All these instrumentalities, associated with a remarkably active life in an exceedingly complex civilization, train the intelligence and exert their influence upon the character of the people. But the schools loom above all the rest in importance, for they prepare the ground and give the opportunity to all the others.

The American system of education has been evolved out of the intellectual progress of an active, ambitious, self-conscious people. That people has become great in numbers by accessions from all the peoples of the earth, and their educational system has received many valuable contributions from the schools of all lands. But the initiatory influences were the very best that the world had to give, and the predominating control has at all times been in hands that were actuated by Christianity and law and order; that were guided by a sincere love for security and stability, as well as for freedom and progress. The American people have been quite self-centered and independent enough; they have adopted little from other countries that would not be to their advantage; what they have taken they have adapted to their physical circumstances, religious independence, and political self-consciousness. They have, for the most part, created their own educational philosophy and institutions. And what is more, they have been determined that every one of their number should have as free an opportunity as every other to get the utmost that that philosophy and those institutions can give. They are offering more in the way of education to all the people than any other nation in the world. The road from the beginning of the system to the end of it, is more open, continuous, and free to the children of the multitude than is the case in any other land or in any other plan of education. We undertake to do so much for all that it is quite true that we do some things less exactly and completely than some other peoples do the same things. But our educational system is glorious in its democracy, its all-embracing hospitality, its flexibility, its adaptiveness, and its aggressiveness; it is gradually becoming so well

articulated and coherent that no one need be lost in it or need fall out of it; and it has already become so far-reaching, scientific, and efficient that none need go out of the country to find about all that the best schools of the old world have to offer.

To be sure, it would be absurd to say that the time has come, or will ever come, when we have nothing to learn from other countries or other systems of education, but there is no longer need of such humility or of such adulation of things far away as to fail to see that we have educational privileges that are more far-reaching and universal than those of any other people, and that we have much to give to, as well as much to ask from, the scholarship of other lands. So much at least we must believe, because it is the vital groundwork of that further educational progress which the nation confidently expects.

THE JEWELS OF THE NATION

THE JEWELS OF THE NATION¹

Properties are beyond the counting: jewels are but few. Property values are settled by the common laws of trade: jewel values are fixed by rareness and richness and by appreciation and attachment. A jewel is often priceless: its worth can not be expressed in money. An heirloom handed down from father to son, from mother to daughter, something of exceptional cost at the first and made precious by associations, becomes the family jewel that deserves the name. But there are jewels enough that never had and never can have commercial value. Thus the world responds to the longings of the human heart. All literature shows abundantly that jewels have a stronger hold upon sentiment than upon substance, upon feeling than upon fact. Truth, mercy, justice, generosity, the "old armchair," the "clock on the stairs," the "old oaken bucket that hung in the well," perhaps even the children, as Cornelia said, become the precious jewels of minds that are clear and of hearts that are sincere, and of rich and poor alike. It is with nations as with men and women. Lands, and palaces, and battleships, and crests, and diadems, and swords, gathered through the tortuous history of the throne, become the vaunted jewels of the crown; but the things that engage the affections of the human heart and give power to human progress become the priceless heirlooms of the people.

When our Republic was born, an hundred and thirty-five years ago, it was hardly more than a "five pound baby," but a little baby has great possibilities and this one had a long head and a shrill cry which quickly gained attention. Three millions of people were widely scattered over an obdurate soil, between a long and dangerous coast and a yet more dangerous human enemy that had reddened many a hearthstone upon the frontier with the blood of the wife and children of the pioneer or that of the pioneer himself. All beyond was fresh from the hand of the Creator, and almost unknown to men of Caucasian blood. Vast mountains, noble rivers and lakes, wild and dangerous game, an Indian village here and there, trails along the levels, two or three military forts and Jesuit

¹ Address given at Lake Mohonk Mountain House, Mohonk Lake, N. Y., on Independence Day, 1911.

missions, were all that had been found by the armies, and missionaries, and explorers, sent to annex empire to European thrones.

But the little nation was not without breeding that had given it quality, or experiences that had hardened its arms. It had statesmen and they laid the keel of a ship that would stand a mighty strain. The stars upon the flag have increased from thirteen to forty-six. Territory has expanded fourfold and population thirtyfold. A continually gathering people have had a steadily enlarging domain. They have never kept their talent in a napkin. Moving west, they found riches in the acres and they extracted a good part of the richness from the acres. The western people say that the Atlantic States would never have been occupied at all if they had not been settled before the people learned what a country there is out west. Riches have been taken from the mountains as well as from the prairies. Great cities have grown in a surprising way. The map, all the way to the Pacific, has become black with towns and railroad lines. Capital is plentiful and commerce is quick-witted and abundant. A growing passion for universal education has placed a school for every purpose and suited to every mind within reach of every home upon the soil. Churches have multiplied, and, better than that, they have lived in unequaled peace. And not only has a church and a school, a mill and a store, a factory and a bank, sprung up in every settlement, but the common power has given security to person and to property everywhere and has provided every manner of institution that could promote a highly organized and exceedingly complex civilization in every quarter of the land. But these are only the possessions, the mere properties, rights, and privileges of the people. It is hardly worth while to repeat the story of their acquisition, for it has been so often told that it is trite and commonplace, almost gross, to dwell upon it. The nation, like the families that comprise it, has treasures not seen, jewels not well understood by others and not capable of measurement in commercial valuations.

First of these is the fundamental character which the nation inherited from the Saxon race. The Saxons were no gentle folk. They lived in the forests and grappled with a rough sea. They were strong-bodied, stout-hearted timber, rooted deep in the soil of nature. Long-haired, cold-blooded, glutinous, grim hunters of men they were. Serious, stiff-necked, sullen, they led lives that were little cheered by sentiment and song. Of literature and art and architecture they produced almost none: certainly only a few shreds have come down to us, and if any had deserved it would

have survived. They seem to have been more like the old Hebrews and to have seized more strongly upon the Hebraic laws than any other modern people. But they contributed to the world a hardy, unbending character which was more affected than that of any other modern race by a Christianity, and most certainly by the Old Testament Scripture, that was unsentimental, serious, sublime. That was enough for one race to give to recent times. When it migrated to Britain it took that character with it and kept it intact. It has stood through the ages. It loved freedom and it had faith, and it let neither go. Through three centuries of Norman conquest it held to its landed rights, its freedom of movement, and its faith. Of course it was affected by contact with the more imaginative, the more light-hearted, the more accomplished, the more productive Latin race, but in the essentials it remained unchanged. It mixed in marriage and in language; its sullen nature yielded a little to the New Testament, to literature, and to the arts; but it deepened its roots in the soil and never let go the rights which as English commons it had acquired. In the end the face of the composite race and the work of its hands, the habits of its mind and the expressions of its heart; the form of its language and the sublimity of its faith, were essentially Saxon and not Norman.

This great race first laid the foundations of constitutional government, and through the long centuries since it mastered its Norman "masters" it has maintained them. It made the meanest of the English kings write guaranties of the inherent rights of men in Magna Charta at Runnymede. Singing Puritan hymns, its cavalry rode to victory over the king's troops at Naseby and Dunbar and at Marston Moor, and then it struck off the head of the king himself. It was all for the sake of liberty as it understood the term. It came with English puritanism to America. It was in the English grenadiers and the Yankee volunteers who forced the landing at Louisburg, and who scaled the heights of Abraham. So it determined that America, as it had before determined that Britain, should be a Saxon rather than a Gallic country. Only a little later it was predominant among the American farmers who saved English liberty from the British grenadiers and the British government itself, in the American Revolution. That race and its institutions give the larger part of strength and security to the Republic now. The attributes of the Saxon race, which are the inherent qualities of English puritanism, make a unique diamond brooch, of stones not overwrought, that reposes in the jewel box of the American Republic.

There is a string of pearls that keeps fair companionship with that Saxon brooch. It is composed of the lighter, more captivating qualities of the people who overran but never conquered the Saxons, and of the other peoples who cultured the manners without corrupting the character of the English commons either in Old England or New England. The Normans have the right to the center of the string. At the Conquest they were the most progressive people in the world. They were not so hardy as the Saxons, but more ambitious. They wanted better food, houses, dress, amusements. They had more imagination, wit, and humor. It was well all around, and of peculiar advantage to themselves, that their poetry and their plays had to deal with the realities of a stubborn people who kept their hands upon the hilts of very broad swords. Public knowledge and public morals gained. The result was the Englishman of modern times. But the Saxon in him was always predominant. It was long, long years before his experiences trained him into a citizen who could assimilate with people who were unlike him, or exercise political power with consideration for others than his Saxon race. It was not accomplished before he came to America. Even in New England he needed to have docility, and humanity, and political rights and religious freedom for others as well as for himself, and a system of jurisprudence, and imagination, and ingenuity, and music, and painting, trained into him. Many peoples from many lands did this, and the qualities that did it make the fair string of pearls.

There is no implication that the Saxon had all the honesty and no culture, and the rest all the culture and no honesty. But it is not too much to say that the Saxons contributed to our English, and later to our American, life by far the larger share of that inherent and unyielding character without which culture is of no account and democracy is impossible. They trained much of that character into many peoples with more culture and less firmness of character, while they were themselves gaining inspiration from those whom they were training. Together they were blending order and stability, aspiration and opportunity, into the character which has made the Republic what it is. All these qualities are expressed by jewels of very great, though of possibly unequal, worth.

Independence is another of the nation's heirlooms. We have become a greater people and have accomplished more because we acquired it. The habits of life in all parts of the world and all

the activities of civilization have been invigorated by American independence and sovereignty. This contains no reflection upon Britain. British justice might have been saved without separation. We had real grievances, but it is quite possible that they might have been redressed without war. We had the stiff necks of the Saxons, plus the substance of English puritanism, plus that acumen of mind which is natural to life in a new world; we had the stubbornness of the Englishman and rather more than his versatility in creating occasions and making excuses; we stated our grievances as strongly as the ablest men of the eighteenth century could, and we put upon an honest but stupid king, and upon a fatuous political administration, the alternative of retreat or of war. Britons seldom retreat, and so there was a war of seven years, and independence. But all this was only opening the door to the inevitable. In one way or another independence was to be. There was some dubious knowledge about the fact, and there may have been some dissembling about it; but, whether we knew it or not, we wanted it; we had to give reasons for taking what we wanted, and the ablest statesmen found excuses that sufficed to make the Saxon and the Puritan and the New England conscience fight for the independence that had to be.

It had to be in order to prepare the way for the overwhelming fact of modern history — the evolution of a new and mighty nation with a republican form of government, in America. The colonial policy of Britain was more arrogant then than now. The lesson of the American Revolution sunk deep into British national policy and brought to the colonies and dependencies which continued under her sovereignty such measure of independence as would contribute to the growth and the self-respect of each, and thus to the greatness of the whole, without much further menace to the unity of the Empire. But the resistless future forbade all compromise in the case out of which that lesson grew. Nothing but absolute independence, complete self-responsibility, entire freedom of initiative, and flexibility of plan, could invite and assimilate the peoples of the world, or initiate enterprises of which Britain had never dreamed. Separateness alone contained the seeds of the national self-expansion which was due in America. It had to precede the Federal and state constitutions which make legislation very free, and yet avoid the dangers of it by creating the power of veto in the courts, a device which British lawyers would have prevented if it had not shocked them into insensibility.

And it had to precede our always free-flowing stream of statute law, which some deplore but which has afforded democracy its opportunities to propagate the intellectual and industrial activities of the country. Yes, entire independence was the breath of life to the unfolding of a democracy in America and to the progress of democracy in the world. It had to be. It was for the good of America, and Britain, and all the world. It is a fine jewel in the box.

Equality of right and of opportunity is a precious gem held by the people of the United States. It is no empty boast. Our political system well expresses the common opposition to special privileges and the common demand that every one shall have his equal chance. This opposition and this demand are much more pronounced than in the first half century, or the second half century, of the Republic. No political system that is real will ever be ideal. Ours is real, and of course its applications sometimes fail. But it opens the door of opportunity to every one more nearly than any political system in Europe can possibly do. For example, there is not an educational system in Europe, not excepting by any means that of our Mother Country, which is not a machine set to lift up the children of the upper classes and keep down those of the lower classes. And the machine is so supported by the common thinking and by long usage that a plebeian seldom breaks through the barrier it sets up, seldom goes to the advanced schools, and seldom reaches a high place in commercial, professional, or public life. That is not so in this country. The public educational system of America has been arranged by the poor to help the poor to the very best there is in learning, and it has been so well arranged and is so strongly supported that it does more for the poor than the more exclusive schools do for the children of the rich. And the educational system is only one expression of the political philosophy of the country. For whatever end that philosophy expresses itself, it does so freely. People will associate and organize upon whatever lines they like, but the public policy of the country will never be exclusive. The common people hold the political power and they intend to use it. They fix the tax rate and they make the appropriations. They are going to have the best possibilities of a self-governing state. There is more danger to the rich than to the poor, but the fundamental laws protect them and they are better able to invoke those laws. In any event, this is the landwhere the constitutions, and the laws, and public opinion, and

common usage, intend to hold out equality of rights and of opportunity to all. That is a gem of our own finding: let us venerate it.

Religious freedom is a jewel of the finest form and fiber in the government of the United States. The complete independence of church and state is not usual in other lands. It is decreed by law in a few, but in hardly any is it established in fact as here. That fact has a weighty influence upon the hearts of the people. No one gains prerogative and no one suffers in his rights or his estate because he is an Episcopalian, or a Lutheran, or a Roman Catholic, or a Quaker. The state can not use a church to bolster up its power, and no church need deaden its spirituality by obeisance to a monarch or by maneuvering politics to gain prestige and appropriations. It makes for religious freedom; it creates interdenominational respect and fraternity; and it absolutely interdicts the religious warfare which has shed more human blood than any other warfare in history. That too is a gem of our own finding, and it is to the good and the honor of the nation that cherishes it so warmly.

There is another jewel in the box that is exclusively our own. That is the right to mind our own business, and to expect that other people will mind theirs. It is more of a boon than the unthinking will appreciate. It has come through our isolated situation, geographically, religiously, and politically. We are remote from other countries which we have any occasion to fear. Our border controversies with Great Britain on the north are easily settled by negotiation or arbitration; and any that we may have upon the south are likely to tax our sense of justice more than our power to do what we will. Great oceans separate us from other continents. Happily, the United States wants nothing but comity and good-will with all other peoples. We are not seeking empire; we are not going to force our system on others; we want to carry our fair share of the white man's burden in the world; we are willing all the others shall carry all they will. Our diplomacy has always been direct. We want peace. Nobody thinks we are insipid; nobody doubts that we can fight. But we have never had occasion and we have never assumed to be prepared for war. The constitutions, the laws, the balanced sentiment of the country, contemplate that we shall preserve order and be prepared to put down insurrection; but there is no suggestion more un-American than that about preparedness for war with foreign countries. It comes from men who are

interested unworthily, or from others who are so fanciful and flighty that they are not to be listened to. The effort to expand the army or navy beyond the needs of police duty in the country and along our coasts involves a distinct departure from the traditional purpose of the people and the clear intent of the laws of the United States. Any attempt to create an American military or naval armament, always ready for war with the military powers of Europe, would be distinctly discreditable to us. The fact that we have not had to do it is the fact which has enabled us to go forward on the road of happiness and prosperity at a bound. We may easily do justice to and live at peace with all the world; and we should resent any attempt of the unthinking or the self-interested to involve us in brutalities which cost many lives and more money than will support all the churches and schools of a peaceful people for all time.

There are other jewels in the nation's strong-box, but there is no time to examine them now. We have not exhibited our riches; we have not boasted of our accomplishments; we have not fought over again the battles won, and conveniently failed to recall those that were lost. This is almost enough to expel human interest from the Fourth of July, but it may come nearer the "safe and sane" observance of the anniversary which so many desire. We have not even indulged in prophecy; we have not foretold what the nation will do and what it will become in an hundred years; and you must know that abstinence of that kind is a cruel limitation upon the traditional privileges of a Fourth of July speaker.

We have merely been looking over the nation's heirlooms and recalling the associations that make them sacred. We may well look over the nation's properties as well as its heirlooms. We may have been thinking of the difficulties which such a heterogeneous people, of an hundred millions, must have in caring for such an estate upon the basis of free government. Fifty years after Bunker Hill, Webster declared democratic government to be "the master work of the world." But that was eighty-six years ago, and he could not contemplate the situation that is upon us now. Nor can we estimate the difficulties when the nation shall have five hundred or a thousand millions of people, as it is more than likely to have. It is a question of capacity. Some people have to be much controlled. There are whole peoples to whom it would be absurd to entrust the powers of government. The old stock in

America could govern; the new accessions have brought priceless contributions to our American civilization and, after a little, most of them have shown the qualities which make government secure. We expect this will continue. But it would be simplicity itself to regard with indifference the capacity of the multiplying millions for that self-government which will afford abundant security and provide steadily enlarging advantages to every one in the land, for all time.

Nothing less than equal justice and equivalent opportunity for all; nothing less than universal and, if necessary, compulsory education; nothing less than the gospel of universal work; nothing less than a firmness that hates insipidity and commands respect; nothing less than the fair-dealing and good-will which are the essence of our Christianity; nothing less than steadiness, and patience, and toleration, and good-cheer, and confidence, can give us assurance of enduring success. Happily, we have gathered many of these qualities from the four corners of the earth and out of the long history of the human race, and, more happily still, they seem to grow and multiply in the air that is "full of sunshine" and under the flag that is "full of stars."

CRITICISMS OF EDUCATION CHAPTER IN
PROPOSED NEW YORK CITY CHARTER

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Albany, August 2, 1911

Hon. James A. Foley

Chairman Assembly Cities Committee

316 East Eighteenth Street

New York City

MY DEAR SIR:

Your committee has prepared a new charter for New York City which the Legislature is expected to act upon in September next. As the Constitution requires a *State system of schools*, the chief educational officer of the State is bound to be concerned about a chapter which arranges an untried plan of government for the schools of half the children of the State.

Your committee has felt the unrest that always exists in the school system in New York City as in every great system; you have doubtless tried to meet a difficult situation in the best way you could; and it may be said that the literary and legal side of your work seems well done. But in my judgment the new kind of school government which you propose to set up is vitally defective, would work great mischief, and could not long endure. I beg to say in what respects this is so, before the inevitable haste attendant upon an unusual and probably brief legislative session in the fall.

Your educational chapter abolishes the Board of Education as a separate corporate entity and sinks the government of the schools in the government of the city. The character if not the very life of the schools depends upon freedom from all partisanship, and most assuredly upon freedom from municipal politics. The common schools provide the common meeting ground, where all partisans stand equal, and where nothing repugnant to any may obtrude itself. In the very nature of things, that is impossible under any political government or under any existing municipal administration. An educational system can not thrive unless wholly actuated by educational principles and free from all that interferes with their operation. This fundamental basis of the school system has long been accepted by public opinion and incorporated in our system of laws. The courts, lower and higher, in this and in many other states, have often declared that the common school system

has an entity of its own, and that the laws of the country intend it shall have independence.

It is true that in this State we have the unfortunate habit of legislating in the city charters about the schools that are in our cities. It misleads some. It would be better if all educational legislation were classified in the Education Law. But even where the charters have assumed to merge the government of the schools in the government of the cities, and have named the officers of the schools among the officers of the cities, the courts have said, and the Legislature itself has said, that that was inadvertent; that the officers of the schools could not thereby become officers of the cities, and that nothing could destroy the right of the schools to be free and independent. In solemn confirmation of this principle the people incorporated the "Children's Bill of Rights" in the State Constitution in 1894, and made it fundamental that the Legislature shall provide, not thirty municipal school systems, but one State "system of common schools wherein all the children of the State may be educated." It is true that your educational chapter, in a minor way, recognizes this State system and the fact that the New York City schools are a part of it. It looks as though the purpose was to go to the very limit of power in submerging the schools in the business of the city, without going so far as to force the courts to declare the whole work void. It is possible that legal learning and astuteness have avoided a fatal constitutional objection; but it is doubtful. It may be that the courts could hold that the Legislature had legal competency to make as much use of a municipal government for the ends of the State system of education as the committee provides for in the new charter. But why involve the schools of the first city of the country in the probability of demoralizing litigation, and, above all, why depart as far as may be from principles that are obviously for the good of the schools and very universally accepted?

But whatever its relations, the government of the schools must be a popular government, and an educational government, and a government that governs. It may easily be all that. The universal practice has been to intrust the management of the schools to an unsalaried board of prominent and intelligent citizens, who were interested in popular education but who were not professional educators; confer upon this board legislative powers, within legal limitations, over the school system; and authorize it to appoint suitable executive officers both on the business and the instructional side of

the affairs of the schools. The universal theory and the best practice in good school government requires that all the members of this board shall represent the educational interests of the entire city and not of subdivisions thereof; that the members of the board shall not act as individuals and shall not possess administrative or quasi-administrative functions, but shall be limited to action taken in legal meetings of the board and recorded in its journal. Boards legislate; individuals execute. No complex government, as that of the New York City school system must be, has ever been successful where these legislative and executive functions have overlapped. The larger the system, the more imperative is this principle. Confusion of mind about this has produced paralyzing controversy and demoralization in all large systems of schools. The common demand of universal experience is not only that legislative and executive functions shall be separated, but quite as much that the management of the business affairs and of the instructional work shall be as sharply separated, and committed to responsible and specially qualified executors. The scheme of government must be such that if there is misconduct about the business of the system, some one man may be held responsible for it; such that a parent who finds that his child is in the hands of a cranky or a woodeny teacher may go right to the man or woman who has authority to correct the difficulty. The scheme must be clean cut, so arranged that officials can not overreach one another; so arranged that each may have the credit of good work and must have the odium of bad work; so arranged that the schools must steadily grow in character and efficiency, or intelligent citizens be able to know where the trouble is.

These are some of the foundation principles of a good government for schools. Indeed they are the vital ones: if they are observed in good faith, the rest will take care of itself. They are upheld by every man and woman of experience and reputation in the country. Yet, by a singular succession of coincidences, the educational chapter in your charter defies every one of them. Let me specify, but with necessary brevity:

You provide that the Board of Education shall have no separate corporate powers; that all of its work shall be absolutely sunk in the business of the city. This not only deprives education of its vital freedom, but it puts the schools in the same class as the police and fire and park and street-cleaning departments. Those departments are operated on business principles and essentially managed through discipline. Education is a professional matter, and schools

can be made efficient only by observing pedagogical principles and by adapting teachers who are professionally trained to duties for which they are particularly fitted. No school system has ever been highly or even measurably satisfactory in which this policy was not cherished.

You provide a board of seven persons, with salaries of \$9000 for each of six members and \$10,000 for the chairman, to manage the schools in subordination to the political government of the city. This is an arrangement wholly new to American education and to education in all countries. It is not only new; there is nothing to commend it. When a board of education meets only occasionally to legislate upon and appoint the higher officers of the school system, there is no difficulty in getting better members without than with salaries. Good citizens in plenty are glad to render this service if it is a matter of honor and not a purchased and paid service. And none can doubt that such salaries will attract men without special fitness and who are looking for the compensation, and that in the long run, if not at once, such salaries would be made the reward of party service rather than of educational service. That is necessarily destructive of education and of schools.

But the intent as to the character and functions of this board is not made clear by the bill. Is it to be a board of lay citizens, or of educational experts, or of both? If it is made up wholly of educationists it will bring untold harm to the schools. Popular control over the common schools is as necessary as pedagogical expertness in the schools. The schools are the people's schools and the people would show great unwisdom in handing them wholly over to professional teachers. If the board is to be constituted wholly of laymen, it is neither necessary nor desirable that the members be expected to give their entire time and become salaried office-holders. If it is to be composed of both lay and professional members, disagreements and dissension are inevitable, because it would be too much to expect that the professional members would be of the unambitious kind or of those who love teaching above all else, and power and pedantry might be in uncomfortable proximity.

It is arranged that all members of the board shall represent particular boroughs. This will make members supreme as to their own boroughs; it will lead to log-rolling to accomplish results in certain boroughs; and it will deprive all the boroughs of the free judgment and disinterested efforts of all the members.

It is provided that the Board of Education may fix the salaries

of all officers, employees, and teachers, *subject to the approval of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment and the Board of Aldermen*. No one of the least experience needs to be told that this necessarily undermines educational administration on the merit basis. In practical operation it subjects the members of the political boards of the city to importunity by teachers and their friends for the increase of particular salaries, and it gives the members of those boards dictatorial powers over individual salaries, and thus over the higher educational officers. It defies the superintendent and his assistants, and gives brazen effrontery the opportunity to override merit in a way which every teacher who is too honest and capable to depend upon influence should resent. This arrangement, taken in connection with a salaried board of education, would put the school system so deep in municipal politics that it could never be redeemed except by revolution.

It is plain enough that the new charter intends to reduce the office of city superintendent to a subordinate and inferior place. The bill provides that he may enforce the compulsory attendance law, and assign his clerks to duty, and make reports to the board, and that is about all; it does not empower him to do anything which may legitimately claim the attention of real leadership, or exercise any of the independence which the people should be glad to give to any man whom they would be willing to have occupy the office. A system of schools requires a responsible educational leader, and no capable and self-respecting man can hold the position without the rights, powers, and opportunities of real leadership. In educational administration some one must lead. A dozen educational leaders with equal and coördinate powers will not agree and will deprive the instructional work of all coherency, efficiency, and progress.

There are several provisions in the proposed charter which limit appointments upon the supervisory and instructional forces to persons already connected with the New York City schools. For example, no one can be appointed city superintendent, associate superintendent, or district superintendent who has not been connected with the New York City schools for seven years. In this way, the rights now enjoyed by the holders of college graduate certificates, normal school diplomas, and other high grade certificates, issued by the State Education Department and protected by the laws of the State, are annulled. This is, of course, in the interests of individuals and not of the schools. There is no reason why the New York City schools should not get the most competent

superintendents and teachers which the rather liberal compensation will command. Those who are already in the system have advantage enough. There is no danger of their being passed by if they are deserving. It is well for them to know that they are, in some small measure, in competition with all teachers in the State; it is well to introduce a little fresh blood from outside. It is not only well, but upon principle it is necessary. All true educationists know very well that neither they nor the schools prosper through educational narrowness and exclusiveness. If the Legislature is obliged to depart from this wholesome principle in the interests of people already in the service, by just so much will intelligent confidence in democratic government be broken down.

It is not at all certain that New York City is not too large a unit for a single instructional administration to manage in a way which will assure reasonable justice to each teacher, and make it possible for parents to know that their children are getting the kind of teaching that they have the right to demand. The population is so large and the activities so complex that it may be impossible to maintain the necessary efficiency and also the universal spirit of kindness and helpfulness without which schools can hardly be worth their cost. If experience seems to show that this is so, then there may be made just as many units or districts for the purposes of instructional supervision as may be thought advisable. That might easily be done, while the financial management of the whole should be kept within the control of a single authority. But, whatever the size of the administrative units, each must have an individuality of its own, with educational government in which authority and responsibility are strongly centralized and beyond the need of bending the knee to any power or influence that is unworthy.

There are many very vital omissions from this plan of government for the schools of eighteen thousand teachers and three-quarters of a million children. Practically all of it relates to the personal rights and financial interests of individuals: there is little looking to the refinement and uplift of the system. There is nothing to keep the overambitious from overreaching; nothing to punish the subtle and brutal use of power; nothing to give reward to professional zeal and altruistic endeavor. No doubt this is because of the nature of the influences that come most quickly to the Legislature when the possibility of a new charter arises. No doubt it will be said that the spirit and character of the system can not be created in the law. But a legislative committee may well hear others

than those who are thinking of their own rights and interests, and a law which governs a great system of schools must of necessity define powers and set up safeguards which will give opportunity and protection to the great central motive of our system of public education. All reference to this seems strangely absent from the fanciful new school law that is under consideration.

More can not be said in this letter. Enough has been said to demonstrate that the proposed charter, so far as education is concerned, is no better than the present one. I have no doubt that if it were to go into operation it would prove much worse. Surely, radical changes in the school system which concern all the people of the first city of the land, which is soon to be the first city of the world, ought not to be made by the Legislature unless it is clear that they are for the better.

I am far from thinking that changes could not be made which would be for the better. But they can be made only with full information and in the light of the experiences of New York City and the other great cities of the country and the world. They do not have to be made in haste, at a brief session of the Legislature. There is another fact that none should forget: if a political party will regard the fundamentals of education, and will make changes in the government of the schools solely to promote their efficiency and enlarge their good to the people, that party may be entirely confident that the millions who are interested in the people's schools will appreciate its course. But that can not be done without listening to those who are disinterestedly concerned about the progress of all the children and particularly to those whose business it has been to study the government of the schools.

The Board of Estimate and Apportionment is at this time causing a careful inquiry into the affairs of the New York City schools to be made by one of the prominent educationists of the country. Why not wait until his impartial and critical report as to the facts, and his recommendations, shall be made, and then call the willing help of leading citizens and of professional and experienced experts to the aid of the Legislature in the preparation of legislation which the sensitive and substantial sentiment of the people will applaud?

REMARKS AT THE INAUGURATION OF CHAN-
CELLOR ELMER ELLSWORTH BROWN

REMARKS AT THE INAUGURATION OF CHANCELLOR ELMER ELLSWORTH BROWN¹

The State of New York was represented by Dr Andrew S. Draper, Commissioner of Education, who said:

Mr Chancellor, there are so many people in the State of New York that it is impossible to collect and compound their sentiment upon any subject not already well settled in American public policy unless it is a matter of practically universal and paramount concern. But the support of all schools, high and low, is among the settled policies, indeed is a confirmed passion in America, and I am sure all the people will be glad to have their interest in these uncommon exercises expressed to this university, and their good wishes presented, with warmth of feeling, to its new chancellor.

States are very dependent upon universities, even though all the people do not always appreciate them. It is quite possible that states and universities may wholly misunderstand one another. Scholarship is frequently dazed by politics, and politics is sometimes brutally indifferent to scholarship. On ordinary days it is very hard for them to mix, for scholars have very little patience with the practical difficulties of the State, and the State is not likely to become excited over such questions as whether classical history or scientific research is entitled to the most money; or whether training boys and girls in vocational industries is likely to deprive the professions of medicine and law of the necessary novitiates and prove a menace to the very life of universities. So, the State is glad to come into this university on a day when it will not encounter the danger of running into phantom fights over academic questions which it might not understand.

This is a university with a noble history; it is doing efficient work; and it is looking out upon enticing prospects. It is in a great city where there is no end of people to be trained for every kind of leadership, and no end of every manner of work for universities to do. The State asks it to uphold scholarship and do what it can to apply scholarship to life, and knowing that such is its aim, the State wishes this university well.

It is my great pleasure particularly to felicitate New York Uni-

¹New York University, November 9, 1911.

versity upon the accession of the new chancellor. He has attributes which appeal very strongly to the people of the State. He was born upon a New York farm. Whether or not it is better to be born upon a farm than in a city there are many men and women in the cities who give evidence that it is. Of course there are a few here who have missed altogether the distinction of being born in the State of New York. If no one will call the matter up against them, neither will any one deny that New York is a very good State for a New York University president to be born in. Chancellor Brown was not only born in a good state but at a good time. He was born just at the time to get the name of a gallant young colonel of a New York State and New York City regiment, who was the first of a long line of hallowed sacrifices to give his precious life in the war to save the Union.

Chancellor Brown in some way missed being educated in the New York schools, but he has been pretty well recompensed for it by life in a vigorous pioneer environment and by training in one of the very best state normal schools in the country, at Bloomington, Illinois, and at the State University of Michigan, a university which was the great leader of the state university movement in America, the most marvelous development of democratic institutions of real university grade that has appeared in the long history of world education. Spending a year in Germany, he began teaching at the University of Michigan, and soon earned a professorship which was continued at the University of California. This led him to know how states and universities may work together for the profit of each, a little better than we in New York all realize. That knowledge produced the best history of the American middle schools that has been written. Those are the schools of American creation which are at once the expression of our democracy and the connecting link in American education; which go further than any class of schools in other national systems of education to give all children their even chance. That book and the work that was behind it raised him to a place in the teachers' guild which is honored by all the pedagogues and many of the people of the United States. In turn that lifted him to the office of United States Commissioner of Education, and it may be suspected that the call to your Chancellorship came in happy juxtaposition with his discovery of the tribulations, and perhaps the emptyhandedness, of an excellent teacher and a virile pedagogical author in a public office. However that may be, it was high time to come

home. It is splendid to go out west and gather up the thinking and the doings of pioneer people, and work with universities that express their highest aspirations, but it is well for the young men who do that to come home when they reach the place Doctor Brown had gained, and most certainly so if there are great universities in the home state that ask them to come and lead them.

To be sure, not many of us have been accustomed to associate Chancellor Brown with a university presidency. He has seemed to fill the concept of a professor to the full, but we have never recognized the readiness to give pain or the strength to endure it which President Seth Low, when at the head of Columbia, used to say were the necessary attributes of a university president. We have never thought of the qualities in him which can deal with faculties as well as with students, and can speak to the public in such decisive and authoritative ways, as we are accustomed to see setting so lightly on the shoulders of the successful university presidents. But we have no apprehensions. A good jurist may never be a great lawyer, but a great lawyer can cultivate the temperament and the habits of a first-rate jurist. Not all the university presidents have the attributes of great teachers, but a real university will sustain a great teacher in the chancellor's or the president's office; and it will be surprising if this one does not develop the attributes of his peers.

The State that chartered this university congratulates her upon calling such a son of the State back to his just inheritance and to her ennobling service. All in all, the day is a radiant one in the history of this university, and the State of New York expresses to New York University and to its new chancellor the felicitations and the good wishes of the millions of people and of that mighty complexity of moral, intellectual, industrial, and commercial activities which enter into the Constitution and are concerned about the healthy life and the genuine progress of the Empire State.

WHAT IS EXPECTED OF DISTRICT SUPER-
INTENDENTS

WHAT IS EXPECTED OF DISTRICT SUPERINTENDENTS¹

I would not disguise the fact that I have more real satisfaction in this meeting of newly chosen district superintendents, all with their new and higher standing, powers, and functions established in the Education Law, than in any educational gathering I have attended in many years. This is the first concrete result of a campaign for uplifting the country schools that was stoutly, and often subtly, resisted, and that was more than once menaced with humiliating failure. It was a longer and more serious struggle than it should have been. The public understanding of the matter was much confused, and it required as much explanation and argument to accomplish the absolutely obvious thing in New York school administration as ought to be necessary to carry a presidential election or an amendment to the Federal Constitution. There are many here today who became real veterans in that long campaign, and they may be assured that I am glad to see them here. It is not strange if we have something of the feeling of old soldiers who carry forlorn hopes to glory. With sincere appreciation of the constancy and the efficiency of so many in this good cause, it is a little difficult to speak of one, but it really ought to be said that a lion's share of commendation ought to go to Dr Thomas E. Finegan, Third Assistant Commissioner of Education, for the unanswerable and always good-natured ways in which he has shaped up the arguments, the keenness with which he has scented ambuscades, and the absolutely unrelenting earnestness with which he has braced up the troops on every part of the field. It is fortunate that he is to have much to do with administering the system. Many of you know much of country schools, but there is not one of you that knows more of them than he does. He will speak to you in a little time. I have something of the feeling that I might well leave it to him to do all the speaking, but I confess that I wanted a part in the exultation and I would have no doubt in any mind as to the measure of

¹ Address given before the rural education section of the New York State Teachers Association at the State Normal College, Albany, November 28, 1911.

my concern and of my expectations about this epoch-making movement in New York education.

You have been appointed superintendents of the rural schools. There are two hundred and seven of you, almost twice as many superintendents as there were school commissioners. The old districts were generally so large that real supervision was impossible, even if the old law had contemplated it, which it did not. Putting two districts where there was one before is an important factor in increasing the efficiency of supervision. That gives the superintendent a much better chance to do something worth while, but whether he does it or not depends upon himself. The Education Department expects much of each, and will do all it can to help each to do conspicuously good work; it will censure a superintendent for indifference and will remove him for wilfully or ignorantly violating either the letter or the spirit of the new law. This is plain language, but plain language is best. It would be absurd to characterize it as a menace or a threat. It is in the interest of two hundred and seven officials whom the law places under my supervision, every one of whom starts out with my confidence and carries with him my good wishes. It is for the sake of a perfect understanding. I have my responsibility as well as you yours. What I say is in the discharge of that responsibility.

It is well to be much more explicit and to tell you in detail what the Education Department expects of you.

In the first place it expects that you will be free and independent school superintendents. It can not be said too often that the common schools are to be kept free from all political or denominational partisanship. Officers of the schools are to assert this and exemplify it. They are to bar out everything to which any patron of the schools can justly object. Above all, they are not to descend to any course of partisan conduct to which fifty, or twenty, or one per cent of the people may be conscientiously opposed. They are to attend to the schools very exclusively. The plain English of this is that they are not to help run political machines; they are not to do political work for leaders or committees. They are to hold their own opinions and vote as they please, but they are not to make themselves obnoxious to any by exerting any influence of their position as superintendent of schools to effect nominations or get votes for a ticket on election day. The school organization is to offend none; it is to count upon the support of all. This is at once sound principle and good policy. You will be expected to regard it conscientiously.

You will of course seek to enlarge your knowledge and improve your professional qualifications. It is one of the very strong points of the new law that it excludes the uneducated from these superintendencies. You have gained certificates of your ability to teach in the schools of the State without further examination. That means much, but if there is one among you who thinks it is enough he is doomed to failure. Read systematically for the enlargement of your knowledge. Of course keep up with the current news. But there is a vast difference between knowledge and news. Appreciate it and act accordingly. Efficient school superintendents must have knowledge, not merely the technical rules of arithmetic and grammar, but of the world's stores of literature. No one really has any hold upon that without the sincere desire to tighten his grasp. If you have that, your grasp upon administration, and courses of study, and methods of teaching, and all such, may come very quickly and easily to those of you who are active. But if you are long on frills and pretense, and short on the substance of knowledge; if you are without the elements of intellectual growth, your rising sun will be obscured by a cloud and is even liable to drop out of the heavens altogether.

The law provides that a district superintendent "shall devote his whole time to the performance of the duties of his office and shall not engage in any other business or profession." That is good English, easily understood. It will not be construed so as to take its vitality out of it. You may not practise law, or medicine, or seek insurance, or till a farm, while holding this office. The law also says that when you are not engaged in the clerical and administrative work of your office, you shall be visiting and inspecting the schools. You understand that: do not get confused about it. How truly you observe all this will soon be known to the Third Assistant Commissioner of Education, and he is bound to act upon what he knows. Be so square and true about it that he will have no question marks against your name.

For your own sakes I bid you to read, and reread now and then, section 393 of the Education Law. It is not pleasing reading for a public assemblage, but it contains good propositions to commune with in secret. It bears upon the relations of superintendents to the sale of books, furniture, apparatus, and the like to the schools; to contracts made by trustees; and to gifts and rewards for exerting official influence in favor of the purchase of any school supplies or for recommending the employment of a teacher. There is no

need of studying this section to see just how far one may go without violating the law. The principle is absolute that a school superintendent can not lawfully accept any emolument beyond his salary for the exercise of his official influence or authority. He must understand that completely.

If sections 393 and 394 of the Education Law claim the secret contemplation of superintendents, there can be nothing secret about section 395. All of its fourteen subdivisions deserve to be printed large and posted in the schoolhouses. It declares, not what the superintendent is prohibited from doing, but what he is *required* to do. Where the law directs that certain definite things shall be done and creates the officers to do them, the people are justified in expecting that there will be results.

It is expected that the schoolhouses will be cleaned and renovated and made sanitary and comfortable. It is expected that out-buildings will be made decent and convenient, free from any immoral stains and suitable for the free use of children. Do not evade this thing and of course do not bluster about it. Talk of it without hesitation. Expect that the teacher will help. See the trustee about it. If necessary, tell him what should be done and how to do it. Assume that he will be glad to do it. If he should refuse, then require him to do it. Do not *require* too often, but there will be many times when you will have to *require*, and when such times come be sure that you follow the matter to the very end.

It is expected that out of all this there will be a fresh impulse toward new buildings in the places of such as are unsuitable for use and beyond repair. The law leaves less excuse for disreputable schoolhouses in New York than in any other state. Keep sane but be persistent about the matter. Talk with the people in their homes, induce district meetings to discuss it, and be on hand yourself to show pictures and plans of new houses that will stir the pride of the village or the neighborhood. The Education Department will provide the material to aid you.

Next spring as the snow is disappearing, when the colts begin to kick up, and the cows begin to look for the first blades of green grass, and the hens begin to scratch on the sunny sides of the barns, and the boys must play leapfrog, it will be time for raking off the school grounds, straightening the walks, and setting out a tree and a shrub or two.

There is a direction in this law that you hold meetings of trustees and advise with them and counsel them in relation to

the interests of the schools. That is a new and an important provision. Find the convenient time and place where you can get five or ten trustees together, and have dinner in company and talk over buildings and teachers and courses of study. Let them do all the talking they will; but answer criticisms, explain needs and difficulties, and bind them together in the sincere determination to have the most attractive schoolhouses and the most vital teaching in your supervisory district. Make sure that the first meeting is so interesting that all will want to come to the next one.

And here we are again around to the teacher and the things taught, but we have come to this part of the circle this time with a new and larger opportunity to do something worth while. I admonish you to be exacting yet just, firm yet kind, aggressive yet balanced and sane. Much more is expected of you than we have had from the school commissioners. Each of you has had much of the training and not a little of the experience of the teacher. You have lived in the atmosphere and you are moved by the spirit of the school system. Do by teachers as you would be done by and as the interests of children and the progress of the New York school system require. Help the young teachers and try to keep the older ones zestful and happy. But the teaching must be progressive and vitalizing, and the fact that it is must be evidenced by the children in their homes.

You have been commissioned to lead the school work of several towns. Do not hesitate to take the lead. Show that you are the superintendent by superintending. Embrace every fair opportunity to quicken public sentiment through the newspapers and by speaking at all manner of gatherings. When you write and speak do it as well as you can. Try to gain a sense of educational perspective, by which I mean try to have a sane appreciation of educational values; remember that not half that is to be learned is in textbooks, and that children are justified in rebelling against teaching that has no life or juice in it. Fall in with the very common thought of the day and associate *doing* with thinking in teaching. Make certain that the children are trained soundly in English, and in simple mathematics, and in truthfulness, and in manners; mix in rational sports, regard for health, knowledge of the earth, and love for animals. Adjure teachers to train children to respect labor and to do things, never losing sight of the fact that while nothing can excuse any American child from a mastery of the fundamentals of an English education, yet the boy who is long on training a

horse, or sailing a boat, or raising corn, or making a wagon, and a little short on the literary side of things, is likely to be a larger and a more useful man than his mate who is quick and exact in the schoolroom but seems unable to get hold of something which he can do to earn a living and which the world must have done. But we are not forced to an election between these children with differing traits and tendencies. Both of them, all of them, are to be trained in both culture and efficiency. Equalizing advantages somewhat, making absolutely sure of the fundamentals, we are to give special gifts or propensities their opportunities.

I advise you to encourage the schools to interest the pupils in the agricultural and mechanical and homemaking industries. It is to be done through the ingenuity and versatility of the teachers. School literature is full of this thing, and you may easily work it into the schools. It is fascinating to children. If I thought it would work harm to the reading and writing and numbers, I would oppose it. I know it will work to their advantage. If I thought it would keep pupils from going to high school and college, I would oppose it. I think it will send more to the higher schools. It will broaden the higher schools or at least it will concentrate their intensiveness upon the work that has the largest claims. The vital need of the educational work of this country is the training of pupils in manual and vocational efficiency. What helps the hands of pupils will help their heads. What is needed is greater respect for all manner of work, and special enthusiasm for some particular work. Too many never have any enthusiasm for anything. Never let go of what is in the books, but encourage the schools to do whatever will arouse the special interest of pupils in *something*.

Why not public commendation for the neatest schoolhouse and the best kept grounds in your supervisory district, as the railroads give for the best kept section along the road? Why not a competition between the schools in a town or in the district over the farm products raised, or the hand work done by boys and that done by girls? Encourage the ingenuity of teachers in initiating movements which can do no harm and will arouse the interest and appeal to the pride of children and parents.

The teachers institutes have been discontinued. They were good in their day, but their day is past. The teachers are at the very beginning more thoroughly trained than they used to be. They do not need so much lecturing and stimulating as they did before the uniform examinations were established and the literature and other

helps for teachers were so prolific. What they do need is frequent conference with the superintendent and among themselves. You are to arrange such conferences. They may be by neighborhoods, or towns, or two towns. They should of course be in a perfectly healthy environment where all may be glad to go. They should be for a territory which will enable all to come in the morning and return at night. A good nutritious dinner at reasonable expense should be arranged. Then there should be a live conference on the everyday interests of the schools. Something of the success of these conferences will depend upon the settings of the room you meet in. It would be better to sit around a table where each may look all the others in the face, than in a stiffly arranged school-room or church. You will have to have plenty of good, live materials for these conferences. You will know where to get these materials. But give the teachers every opportunity to tell their troubles and ask their questions. Having done that, confer about the schoolhouse and grounds, and about the school library and the appliances and apparatus. Confer about the work in general and about the adaptations to particular localities or individuals. Confer about what the teachers are doing for self-improvement. *Confer*, I say; do not lecture. Do not do it in a stilted way but in an easy, familiar way, so that all may have an inclination to enter into the matter, and may go home at the end with the feeling that it was worth while to attend. Let the gathering be *small* enough for a conference, and insist that it shall be a conference. Avoid formal or heavy papers. You will not need stenographers. Keep agents out. They may have their place, but it is not there. Do not expect some one from the State Department; carry forward these conferences on your own account. Do not wind them up with a dance. Act freely and hold them often. In a word, establish relations with the teachers in your district similar to those which exist between an efficient superintendent and the teachers in a city or village. Begin to assume that the everlasting country school problem is really solved.

Of course you will look after the teachers training classes, and you will be well known at the normal schools. You should steadily seek to reinforce these institutions and connect your schools with them so that the schools will be reinforced by them.

You are to advise the trustees as to the employment of teachers, the adoption of textbooks, and the purchase of library books and supplies. Do it freely if you really know what you are talking

about. If you are a little uncertain make a business of finding out so that you can talk confidently. Your success will depend very largely upon the new teachers employed, upon fitting teachers into the places to which they are best adapted, and upon the books and appliances which are provided for the schools. Out of all this the new spirit of the schools must grow. As this duty will be very common and extremely important, you are likely to see much trouble in connection with it. You certainly will unless you have firm ground under your feet and act without fear or favor. Under no circumstances do anything in this connection under influence, persuasion, or threat. Think matters all over for yourself and do just what you think is for the best. More trouble comes to public officers because of their commendable desire to please some friends, or through their unworthy desire to show their powers, than from any other cause. Bend to nothing of this kind. Stand up straight, leaning neither forward nor backward. Have reasons for what you do, whether you think it necessary to state them or not. Be able to look any man or woman in the eye. Let the consequences be what they may, bear your own responsibility in ways that satisfy your own minds and consciences, and let other people carry the responsibility that belongs to them.

It would be well to announce a certain day in each week when you will be at home, so that all who may want to come to see you may count upon finding you. Apparently it should be a day when teachers are free from the schools. You are bound to know the roads in your district as well as the mail carrier does, and you ought to be as familiar with all the homes as is the tax collector. An official visit to a school is not made by a look at the schoolhouse. Work half a day with a school and make a visit accomplish something worth while. Scrutinize all the parts of the building and out-buildings, and look to the furnishings and appliances. If there is a nuisance on the premises, require that it be abated at once as the law amply empowers you to do. If the building needs repairs or if the teacher is without conveniences for her work, go to see the trustee and arrange to have things made right. Make your visit very welcome to the teacher. Do not sneak and do not bluster. Do not let the thermometer drop forty degrees while you are there. More emphatically still, *do not flatter*. Just be kind and frank and capable. Know what in the way of spirit and efficiency ought to be there, and work to get it there. Bring in something that will brace up the school, make the teacher a little

more earnest, a little more courageous, and a little more sure-footed. If it is necessary to suggest things to her, as it generally will be, do it without hesitating but in ways that will gratify her if she has many of the attributes of a true teacher. Before you correct her it would be well to make sure that what you propose is consistent with the educational policies, theories, and methods which the training classes and normal schools have been instilling into her. Perhaps it would be better to see first whether she has the school in her hands, holds the interest and respect of pupils, and is giving them plenty to do. If she has, it might be well to let her keep on doing it in her own way, whether her way seems to meet the sacred canons of the higher pedagogical criticism or not. If she has not, then go in and try to improve matters, with the assurance that you will not make them worse, and with knowledge that it is your business, and with some confidence that it is within your power to make them better. Do not gossip around the district. Do not have profound secrets or many confidences. Do not make promises to be performed longer ahead than tomorrow or the next day. When you enter into an engagement, take out your notebook and put it down, and mark it off when you have done as you agreed. Do not cross bridges before you get to them, and when you do cross them march over like an old soldier, erect and right in the middle of the road.

You will have to use your sense as to the exercise of your powers. The law always assumes that powers will be exercised by rational officers. That does not mean that an officer shall be left to himself to determine what the law is or what it means; nor does it mean that an officer may decide whether a law shall be executed or not. The purpose of the law must always be considered; mere expressions must never be taken by themselves and invoked to overthrow or thwart the manifest intent. Your duties and functions are general. You will have to do some things which are not specified in the Constitution and the written laws. The main purpose of the Education Law concerning you is that you shall be capable and assiduous in building up the schools and in quickening education in your districts. You are to do whatever you can do that will promote that end, unless it violates some law or invades some right.

It is to be hoped that you will distinguish between the management of the business interests of the schools through the district meetings and the trustee system, and the supervision of the instruction through superintendents. Beyond tendering friendly advice

you should not interfere with school meetings or the doings of the trustees, except in cases where the law expressly empowers you to give directions. As to the instructional work, you should not allow the meetings or the trustees to do more than give you friendly advice. As to the teaching, you should know what needs to be done, and see that it is done. But by all means, officers chosen to promote the same good ends should treat each other with every consideration and work together harmoniously and effectually.

The new law provides for the payment of your official expenses by the State up to a limit of three hundred dollars a year. That is an important factor in the new plans for keeping you traveling about your districts. Your bills will have to be sworn to and they must be approved by the Commissioner of Education. None but moneys which you actually pay out will be approved. Now let there be no foolishness about this thing. Carry a memorandum book, and enter every item you pay out and at the time you do it. Every three months transfer that list to the blank forms provided and send it to the Department. Be exact to the cent. There is no need of bending over backward: if a farmer offers you a dinner, as farmers are prone to do, eat it unless there is danger of some aberration of mind which may dispose you to charge the State for it. It is hard for most of us to be away from home, and when your duty requires it you are entitled to make yourself comfortable if you can. But whatever else you do, keep your integrity and independence; they are the mainstays of success in school supervision.

The salary paid you by the State is not large. But you have accepted the trust. The State is not likely to increase the amount very soon, because the State has been induced to assume an additional burden of more than \$150,000 for this rural supervision, only after much persuasion. But there is no reason why the supervisory district should not add to the superintendent's salary. If he is worth more, there is every reason why that should be done. Such addition to the salary by the supervisory district is the only expense which the district will have to incur for school supervision. The State pays a part of the salaries of superintendents in the cities and villages, but not the whole of them, as it now does in the farming districts. The new law encourages the districts to add to your salaries. It can be done by the supervisors of the towns in the district. I do not advise that you agitate that subject. I would not fawn upon supervisors and disgust them if they are self-respecting men. You can not expect them to increase your salaries un-

less the sentiment of the people supports it. I would try to do so much for the schools that the people would know about it and the common sentiment of the district would say that I ought to be a little better compensated. Men and women who think more about success than about wages are the ones who in the end get the most wages.

You are the advance agents, the leaders and promoters, of an educational revival in the rural districts of New York. Your territory reaches to the remotest corners of the State. It lies everywhere beyond the boundaries of the cities and the villages of five thousand people. It runs through all the valleys and lies over all the hilltops of our imperial commonwealth. Your work has to do with all the homes. It has much to do with the potentiality of our lands, with the volume and value of our manufactures, with the happiness of the people, and with the greatness of the State itself. It must be a rational, not an emotional or spasmodic, revival. It must possess learning, it must steadily gather in knowledge and power, it must organize with expertness and fearlessness, it must apply pedagogical methods that have been proved to be of worth, and it must exercise wisely and for a long time, the powers which the State has entrusted to it, if it is to justify the recent legislation which has given it existence and created its opportunity.

You are all-important factors in a great undertaking which is expected to mark the opening of a new era in New York education greater than any that has gone before it. In a year or two there must be very definite results in every county of the State. I have not dared merely to appeal to you to bear your part sanely and bravely. I have declared what is *expected* of you. There is nothing impossible, indeed nothing extremely difficult, about organizing an enduring educational movement which will further uplift the State and add to her prestige in all the states. I anticipate it with entire confidence. You may be assured that it will not be put in jeopardy by any failure of the supervision which the law directs the Education Department to give to the work you are to do. The Department is intensely in earnest, and expects to be exacting, even unrelenting. But that only means that its officers want to join earnestly, honestly and sanely with you, and want you to join in the same way with them, in a very serious and a very vital undertaking, the success of which will bring honor to all of us, and, what is vastly more important, will bring great advantage to the people whom we cherish and to the State which we are all anxious and proud to serve.

NO MUMMIFIED HISTORY IN NEW YORK
SCHOOLS

NO MUMMIFIED HISTORY IN NEW YORK SCHOOLS¹

The last Legislature did the inevitable thing and made the office of the State Historian a division in the Education Department. It went further and created a division in the Department to supervise the manner in which all public records of the State and of the counties, cities, and towns thereof are made and cared for. Of course these plans articulate together and are expected to conserve, and cherish, and magnify our history. They are expected to make the vital history of the country, and particularly of the State, available to all the people in attractive and realistic forms. One of the early expressions of the movement ought to appear in quickening and improving the teaching of history in the schools.

There is no state with a more resplendent history than New York. The story of the first settlements, of the progress of pioneer farming, of the dealings and conflicts with the Indians, of the up-building of our commerce and manufactures, of the development of our religious and political institutions, of the old roads which foreshadowed the newer and greater ones, of the habits and customs of early generations which have influenced the doings of the present generation, of the deadly battles fought and the political policies established by our fathers, which settled the character of the State and nation, is an inheritance which is not exceeded by that of any people in the world. All of this splendid story can not be understood by the children in the schools, for that requires long lives and mature minds, but we may have the satisfaction of knowing that if we teach little parts of it so that children become really interested, they will go on and learn about other parts without helps beyond such as they will find on their own account. The story truly told is so fascinating that it is irresistible.

The point of this little paper is not so much to extend the courses in history as it is to make the teaching vital and the history attractive.

There are now two quite distinct schools of history writers and teachers. One of these, which we may call the old school, assumes that one who has participated in great events and can write well,

¹ Address before the history section of the New York State Teachers Association, at Albany, November 28, 1911.

can write the history of these events. It assumes that one who had no actual part in the events but is an educated man and an accomplished writer, may qualify himself for writing the history of them by reading all that others have written about them, by searching out old documents bearing upon them which have escaped the earlier writers, and by going over the grounds where the events occurred, occupying the point of view and entering into the feelings of the actors, and working himself into a frame of mind which will express the story as the original participants in the events might if they could speak.

The other and newer school is the rather natural outgrowth of the universities. It occupies the critical attitude of the universities. It is more destructive than creative. It is more professional and pedantic than original and inspiring. Its work is done in the study rather than by searching fields and following streams. Its particular satisfaction is in calling down some old hero because he told a story with a little too much enthusiasm. It assumes that having had a part in the events, and having actual sympathy with one side or the other in those events, disqualifies from writing about them. It even assumes that no one has any business to write history unless he has been trained by the professors of history in the universities to question everything and to have no actual feeling about any historical fact. It pretends to treat judicially matters which are wholly outside of and apart from judicial interpretation. It makes more of mummies than of life.

Let us illustrate. A professor of history at Dartmouth College, if he were a disciple of this school, might write what he would call a judicial history of the battle of Gettysburg. He would disregard the motives and ignore the enthusiasms of the contending armies. He would say that the partisanship which would lead a man to offer his life to his country would make him unable to appreciate the accepted canons of historical criticism or understand the underlying principles of historical documentation. He would deal only with generalities, that is, the written orders, the generals, the divisions and army corps, the grand movements, the figures and the result; and to make sure that no one would think him prejudiced, or any more interested in one side than the other, he would very likely leave it to the reader to come to his own conclusions about it all, just as a circuit judge leaves it to a jury to decide what the facts are when the evidence is circumstantial and conflicting and he is not himself sure of what happened. He could

tell us that the battle of Gettysburg was fought on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, July 1st, 2d, and 3d, in 1863; that the weather was probably hot; that there were 201,817 men engaged; that they marched $33\frac{1}{4}$ miles the day before the battle, and that 41,714 were killed; and that all this was the unnecessary consequence of something that our fathers mistakenly let slip into the Constitution on a Saturday or a Sunday in October 1789. It would be as interesting to boys and girls and their fathers and mothers as a railway track or a tow of canal boats when they had seen hundreds of them.

That *might* happen. I do not believe it would, for I do not believe Dartmouth would stand for it long. It is all speculation. Now let us see something that *did* happen. In 1854 a fine young fellow by the name of Frank Haskell graduated from Dartmouth College. He was born in Vermont, taught school to get the money to go to college, and was late in getting through, for he was twenty-six. But he quickly made up for his delayed college course. He was a classical scholar, intent upon work, ready for a frolic and not afraid of a fight. He played square with the world, formed opinions and had unusual gifts in narrating facts and expressing himself. He went to Madison, Wisconsin, studied law, gained admission to the bar, and was soon in successful practice and a citizen who was regarded and respected. At the opening of the Civil War he enlisted in the Sixth Wisconsin regiment and soon gained reputation as a sagacious and daring soldier. He was a mounted aide to General Gibbon at Gettysburg, and carried orders and information to far points on the field. Such a young man in such a place made the most of his unparalleled opportunities for seeing and doing things. He messed with the generals and mixed with the men, and freely offered his life to his country by doing whatever he could find to do, without regard to peril, that would help her in her crucial hour. He was wounded enough to put most men out of commission for a month, and he had two horses shot under him, but he never let go of his job. He was among the first to see the advance of Pickett's division for the grand charge on the afternoon of the third day. He rode along the crest looking for the weakest place in the Union lines. The Confederates had looked for it also. He found the thinnest ranks where Webb's brigade was in a moment to meet the fiercest onset at the "bloody angle." He looked for Hancock and Gibbon, but they had both been wounded. He looked for anybody with authority to give the orders which would mend the break. Finding no one, he flew about and

gave the orders himself just as though all the straps and stars in the army were upon or behind him. He rushed a couple of fairly fresh regiments into the breach, and when the blow fell he was right there to help them meet it. They met it so well that they lost half their number, but what was left gathered in four thousand prisoners. Meade and Hancock and Gibbon and the Congress said that he had done as much as, if not more than, any other one man for the triumph of the Union arms at Gettysburg. He was only a lieutenant. It made him a colonel at once.

In the next thirty days he wrote a full account of the battle from first to last. He had no thought of writing for publication. He wrote what fills a book. Without any self-laudation he told his young brother at home what he saw and heard, how he felt and what he did, what the officers and men did and said. He dealt with men and things and events in particular. He described movements and incidents so that the reader thrills and shivers. He expressed his feelings with the ardor and freedom of youth. He gave credit with a generous hand and without regard to rank, and he handed out criticism in the same way. For example, he said that Hooker was a "scoundrel," which he was not; that Sickles was only a "political general" seeking popularity when he moved the third corps to the other ridge, which was putting it too strong; and that the eleventh corps was a "pack of cowards," which was probably overstating the matter. But it all came hot "off the bat" of a gentleman, a scholar, and a soldier, who had been all over the field and knew and could tell what had happened and how it had happened. The excitement of the battle doubtless gave him some opinions which he would have modified in later years if he had lived, but all the same he wrote actual history. That makes his story of Gettysburg very real; and he consecrated it all by giving his life to his country when leading his new regiment at Cold Harbor the next summer.

I am with Professor Mahaffy of Dublin when he says, "Unless we have living men reproduced with their passions and the logic of their feeling, we have no real human history." I am with Gibbon who believed that history must be rich in imagination and not wanting in eloquence. I am for Fronde with his inaccuracies, rather than with any other who avoids positive statements and reduces human interest in the subject to the vanishing point. I am with Parkman who went over the ground and mixed with people who knew or had heard. I am with Lord Macaulay when

in his history of England before the Restoration he says that he will cheerfully bear the reproach of having descended below the dignity of history if he can succeed in placing before the English of the nineteenth century a true picture of the life of their ancestors.

No one is for ignoring or straining the truth of history. Honest and intelligent imagination that adheres to essential facts but takes the loves and hates of actual men and women into account, comes nearer the truth than does the pessimist who rejects everything but positive evidence, necessarily misinterprets much of that, and insists that partisans are hardly capable of giving evidence at all.

One who helped make history, if he has the other accomplishments, can write it better than those who had no part in making it; and no one can hope to write history well unless he can put himself in spirit and sympathy with those who made it. He must have their point of view, their enthusiasm, and their grief or exultation over results, before he can make it very effective in the lives of human beings. Even those who are not in sympathy with the writer prefer the writings of one who has feeling in his theme, rather than of one who takes pride in his remoteness and indifference. The Confederate veterans would rather read the story by Colonel Haskell of what happened on the Union side at Gettysburg; and the Union veterans that by General Pickett of what happened on the Confederate side, than any story by a historical philosopher who was not there and who tries to write judicially, when the whole thing was one of arms and had gone beyond the possibilities of judicial determination.

The thing we are speaking of is not an exclusive trade at all; it is to be saved from being professionalized; it is far more a matter of knowledge, of intelligent interest and literary accomplishment, than of balancing evidence or of expert training. History consists of facts infused with life rather than of mere opinions. Of course there is such a thing as a philosophy of history, a treatment of causes and effects, a connecting of results and an explaining of consequences, but that is wholly beyond the children in the elementary or secondary schools; and, aside from that, it is in the province of historical or philosophical speculation, and not in the field of historical fact at all.

The same considerations govern the teaching as the writing of history. To be effectively taught it will have to be done by partisans, whose hearts quicken with the teaching and are quickened by it as it progresses. The thing taught will have to be within a

compass which pupils can grasp, and it will have to be made so clear, so full of human action and interest, will have to move in such an orderly and convincing way, that normal children must be enlightened, entertained, and convinced by it.

We have 2,000,000 children in our New York schools. Large numbers of them are the children of parents who are new in the State and know little of the facts and the spirit of our history. We had 1,800,000 souls added to the population of New York State, and 1,300,000 added to the population of New York City, between 1900 and 1910. In other words, the decade's increase alone would make great cities and states as the world goes. And there are vast numbers of children descended from early settlers in the State who know little of the facts and feel little of the inspiration of our history. It is very vital to the State that they shall know these facts and feel this inspiration. No civilization lives unto itself alone. It is a matter of intelligence, of feeling, and of relations and outlook. A civilization treasures what its fathers did for it, and it is urgent about what it aspires to do for its children and their children. Indeed, loyalty to and intelligence about this line of teaching in the homes and in the schools goes further than anything else to determine the power and the right of a civilization to endure.

The schools of all peoples are expected to attend to the matter. Frankly, I do not think we attend to it as well as we ought. We are as prodigal of our history as of our lands, and woods, and waters, and children. We need to conserve and care more for all of them. The people need to help the schools to do it better. Recall the books, and statutes, and columns, and arches, and art galleries, and great buildings dedicated to statesmen, and soldiers, and scholars, and artists in Rome and Madrid and Zurich and Berlin and Amsterdam and Paris and Edinburgh and London, and every other city of the Old World. St Petersburg is so full of them that it is mere display without the discrimination in selecting subjects or that balance between show and understanding which is the vital basis of any patriotism or any civilization that is of much worth. Stockholm, one of the fine cities of the world, goes all lengths in making the display without subjecting herself to any criticism for ignorance or grossness. Her well-made streets and her clean squares express her appreciation of the intellectual and martial history of Sweden. Opposite the palace of the democratic king an art gallery of great merit expresses the history of the nation

to a people free from the burden of illiteracy. The arts and industries and the intellectual and constitutional evolution of Sweden are all admirably represented. Under the great dome there is the magnificent painting of the military guard bearing home on their shoulders through the deep snows, the body of King Charles XII, killed in battle with the Norwegians after Peter the Great had been brought to his reckoning. As the Swedish women look upon it they flush with indignation and the men clinch their fists and renew their oaths of loyalty to the fatherland. A mile or two away, at Skansen, in the park, are the many structures which hold the products and portray the actual life of Swedish generations, from the mud hut of the barbarians down to the fine city which is the abundant fruitage of the high civilization that has resulted from the ambition, industry, valor and honor of Sweden. And, by the way, the military guards at Skansen are in the buff and blue, the leather breeches and top boots, the great coats and three-cornered hats of Washington's army, which we must have borrowed from Gustavus Adolphus.

That we have not done such things as these very largely or always with the best of judgment is not because we are lacking in events to portray or history to teach. The history of Holland and Britain, indeed the history of all intellectual and constitutional progress in all lands, is our inheritance. But we have to go no farther back than the first settlements upon the Hudson river to find both great and picturesque events to illustrate the evolution of the material state, and fascinating stories to quicken the commercial, scholarly, political, and military doings of the people. We are plutocrats in the materials that must touch the pride, quicken the heartbeats, and enlarge the sense of responsibility of every one who is worth his salt and lives upon New York soil.

There is hardly a town in this State that is without its historic episodes and traditions. There is hardly a county that has not a shrine made sacred, not a stream that has not been crimsoned by blood spilt for the rights of man. To say nothing of the names of men, think of what Morningside Heights, and Fort Lee, and Stony Point, and Albany, and Schenectady, and Schoharie, and Cherry Valley, and Wyoming, and Oriskany, and Oswego, and Saratoga, and Fort Edward, and Lake George, and Lake Champlain, and Ticonderoga, and Crown Point, and Plattsburg, and many others, signify in the cause of human opportunity and American nationality. And it is not all a matter of soldiers by any means. We had in every part of this State, at a very early day, as

fine a pioneer farming civilization, as successful manufacturing and commercial accomplishments, as the world has even seen. We have had as brave and fascinating struggles for the stability of political institutions, as much self-sacrifice for the upbuilding of churches and for their freedom and harmony, as intelligent and generous and abiding a faith in schools, as ever honored and enriched the life of any people in the world. It is all in our history, it is expressed in our institutions, and it bears upon our life.

It is our business to see that the children in the New York schools, for their own good and for the country's sake, get their proper share in all this. They are to get the parts of it that they can assimilate, and get it at times and in forms and quantities that will be good for their patriotic health. If they become really concerned about some part of it, they will be about other parts of it. If their love of it begins to grow, it will keep on growing. The generalities, the high points, the speculations, or the philosophy of history, are not of much concern to young people. They want the facts, the action, of it. They want the poetry and the glamor of it. They will come to understand something of the reason and the result of it. It is to be hoped that the Division of History in the Education Department and the teachers in the schools will realize their opportunity to serve the State by refusing to have their faith unsettled by professional critics, and by teaching history to the children by realistic pictures and by inspiring words.

THE NECESSARY BASIS OF THE TEACHER'S
TENURE

THE NECESSARY BASIS OF THE TEACHER'S TENURE¹

For many years much has been said in our educational conventions about the desirability of a permanent tenure of position for all the teachers in the State. It has seemed to me a troublesome subject, but I am glad to say that as I have thought of it more carefully with a view to the preparation of this paper some of the difficulties have disappeared. My conclusion is that the State might very safely, and probably with advantage to its schools, establish the principle that whenever a teacher is once employed the employment shall be permanent, thereby meaning that the teacher shall be entitled to the position until he or she resigns or is removed by the trustees for a cause recognized by the law. But this principle can not safely be made universal in this State unless the right of removal for cause is to be strongly upheld and freely exercised, and unless the causes for removal are held to include all things which are not consistent with the complete and proper management of the school and all things which do not make for the vital and efficient instruction of pupils.

No one must imagine that this is a mere matter of protecting teachers. Real teachers need little protection. If they are abused in one place, they ordinarily get a better place. Doubtless they do need to have their rights defined by law and recognized by practice, so that the small number of contemptible men who get upon boards of education may have notice and govern themselves accordingly. But this is a matter which must turn not so much upon the interests of the teachers as upon the good of the schools. And it may as well be said that I have no patience whatever with teachers who agitate for their imaginary rights regardless of their drawbacks and misdoings. Our task is to distinguish the just rights from the selfish interests of the teacher, and to reconcile those just rights of the teacher with the best good of the schools. Perhaps it will be clearer if we turn it around and say that the problem is to determine what are the just rights of the teacher on the basis of the most good to the schools. No one can, with an honest face, whether teacher or not, ask more or accept less than that.

¹ Address before the New York State Teachers Association, at Albany, N. Y., November 28, 1911.

A protected tenure for teachers is no new thing with us. We have 43,017 teachers in the public schools of the State. Of these, 25,722 are in cities where the tenure is permanent, and 6652 are in the union districts where the employment is from year to year and is practically permanent if the teacher is reasonably satisfactory. So there are 10,643 teachers outside of the cities and union districts whose employment is only from year to year and in the common thought of the districts is wholly subject to the election of trustees. These country teachers are protected by law much more than they were. They have definite if not perpetual terms of employment; they can not be dismissed within the term without cause; they have the contract in writing and they get their pay as often as every month.

True, the Education Law prohibits a board in a union district from employing a teacher for a longer term than one year, and likewise prohibits a sole trustee from employing a teacher for a term extending beyond his own term of office. The reason for this is that these local boards and trustees too often employed favorites and entered into contracts which were not for the good of the schools. It must be obvious enough that no law can be upheld which does not have, for its first object, the good of the schools; and it must also be obvious enough that the law has to deal with many school trustees who fail utterly or in very considerable measure intelligently to promote the interests of the districts they are chosen to represent. But that does not shake the faith of intelligent people in the decentralized system of school administration. We must never forget that our schools are the people's schools in a great sense that does not inhere in any other national system of education, and that there are the weightiest reasons why the people shall manage them directly, to the fullest extent shown by experience to be compatible with the good name of the schools and the efficiency of the teaching. When a board is mean and weak enough to sacrifice a good teacher in order to appoint another, with the idea that it will do a favor for a friend or be of advantage to a political party, as sometimes happens, I regret it for two distinct reasons. First, because of the outrage upon the teacher: one who can do such a thing as that deserves a dose of electricity — not of course such a dose as the law prescribes for a man convicted of murder in the first degree, but such a jolt as will make him wonder why he was ever allowed to have anything to do with the management of schools. And second, because it limits and

sets back the faith of the people, and particularly of experts, in so large a measure of popular and direct management of the schools. But we need not be discouraged. Where there is one trustee who abuses the trust, there are nine who execute it conscientiously, according to their lights, and the thing to do is to turn on the lights for the nine, and turn on enough voltage to kill, officially, the one.

But let us get into this a little more deeply. The school organization has checks and balances: it exacts much of teachers, and when it does that it enters into compensatory obligations. Teachers certificates are earned by study, by experience, often by sacrifice: they ought to be worth something. They are of different grades: that should and does mean differing values. Those of higher grade and therefore of larger value stand for more study, more experience, ripened spirit, proved adaptation to particular and exacting duties, and complete devotion to the teacher's calling. The interests of the school system require not only that no school shall be taught except by a certificated teacher, that is, by one of some proved capacity, but they also require advancing grades of certificates representing increasing capacity and maturing adaptation and efficiency. This scheme of graded certificates calls for more and more study, sacrifice and success. The school system can not exact all this without entering into reciprocal obligations. It must protect the certificates. It must make them of the value to the teacher that they pretend to be. It must throw the strongest safeguards about the certificates that represent the most professional culture, and the longest and most successful service.

This system of examining and certificating teachers has been in operation in this State from the days of the Dutch West India Company. In all these three hundred years it has been growing more and more elaborate and complete. It has made rather rapid progress in the last twenty-five years. It has in that time been placed upon a really rational and impregnable basis. It is a just system. It is incapable of special favors or resentments. Its rewards have to go to those who work for and deserve them; it is compelled to turn back the undeserving. In character, purpose and attainments, the teachers give exceptional support to, and have unusual claims upon, the protection of the State. The State exacts much of them before it allows them to teach at all, and after they have commenced it expects them to progress in culture and efficiency or leave the service. No business calls for greater expertness, aptness, and patience than that of instructing children.

No one in the public service is more liable to be involved in misunderstandings with the people and more subject to mistreatment by public officials, than are the teachers. As a class they are almost incapable of defending themselves. They realize that it is against good policy to be involved in controversy. If they have troubles, they are likely to be with people who are coarser than themselves, and they would have small chance in a mere war of words or a mere measuring of strength with such. Surely the State which is dependent upon and claims all this is bound to protect as well as it can those who render it a really high and true service.

The State has developed and it manages the system by which teachers are certificated. All the states in the Union have done it, and New York far more completely than any other. For its own moral life and intellectual progress it says who may and who shall not teach in the State's system of schools. There is some protection in that if rationally done, and certainly so if it is justly progressive, because it does give merit its opportunity and it does save the competent and worthy from contact and competition with the incapable and the unworthy. But that only makes a mere beginning in the process of protection that is vital to the comfort and deserts of the teachers. The larger part of the task is not under the direct management of the State. The menace to the teacher comes not through the licensing system but through the employment and the treatment by employers. That is in the hands of 49 city boards of education, 623 union district boards, and the trustees in 9942 rural school districts. These boards and trustees are changing continually. Thousands of new men and women are chosen every year. Nearly all these new men and women have absolutely correct intentions, and most of them adjust themselves to the service of the schools in ways that do them credit. But some seek the responsibility which better and busier people would avoid, in order to gain some end of their own; a few are naturally brutal; some have favorites to aid; some like to show their neighbors that they have power to do things no matter who suffers; some try to make patronage of the schools upon the false idea that it will aid a party; and some would subordinate common schools to some denominational dogma and to the supposed advantage of a church. All this bears upon promotions as well as original employment. Besides this, and whether new officials come in or not, one teacher in contact with the same families for a long time will gather their affections or their animosities in proportion to the

length of service, and these will necessarily be reflected in the official acts of boards and trustees. In indescribable ways these things affect teachers, very often unjustly, and they will continue to do so until there are no trustees who are capable of injustice or until all their doings are regulated by laws that are thoroughly enforced.

Now, anything that the State does to regulate the official conduct of local school officials is a limitation upon local self-government. That is undesirable where unnecessary. The more local school government there is that is wise and just and strong, the better will be the local schools and the stronger will be the State system of schools. It is not more a question of right than of expediency. The Legislature would be entirely within its constitutional power if it were to take the employment and immediate control of teachers wholly away from local officers, but it would be a very un-American and a very unwise thing to do. The best attainable State system of schools will be assured when we discover the point of equipoise between State control and local management. And the longer the arm of that balance that is on the side of local independence, the better it is for the schools, the people, and the State. It is even better that local authority shall do many things which it does not do as well as the State might do them, because the only way that people can learn to do them and get in the habit of doing them, is by *doing* them. But every citizen, every stranger within our gates, every moral and commercial interest of the State, has interests which are involved in the State's system of education; and therefore the State at large can not allow any section to be without sufficient schools to open the door of opportunity to the children of that section, and it can not allow local mismanagement to reconcile any district to schools that grow poorer and weaker rather than better and stronger. If you will show me just how little or how much the State must do to stimulate popular concern about the schools; what it must do or leave undone to lead towns and districts to know that they have very poor schools when their superintendents and teachers lead them to think they have the best; what act or omission to act on the part of the State will impel the people of a city or district to courses which will force the school to give their children better training, you will not only point out the exact spot to which the State should go in exercising control over the local government of the schools, but also the exact spot at which it should stop.

But we are not to be abashed by impracticables who talk about

the autocratic exercise of the State's power in education. It is the common educational opinion, and it is rapidly coming to be the popular opinion in America, that very few of the States go as far as they will have to go in stimulating local initiative and in regulating and limiting ignorance, conceit, or viciousness in the management of the schools. Healthy public opinion is everywhere in favor of every legal authority and every civic force, general or local, doing everything possible to energize education. And in practice the thing works smoothly enough. Look at the cities, towns and districts of the State of New York. In the cities and best towns there are so many people, and so many who really know much about good schools, there is so much money invested in the business of the schools, and there are so many teachers whose rights have to be fixed and regarded, that the whole system ordinarily moves along smoothly enough. If there is a sane and efficient superintendent, the system grows better and better. If there is a poor one, a way comes in the course of time to get rid of him. If a conceited or a corrupt board of education gets in control, it is regulated and after a while removed. The State exercises control only on the rare occasions when something very bad has developed. Ordinarily it has little or nothing to do in the communities where the best educational work is being done; indeed, it gets support from, and it is glad to feel the control of, such cities and towns. It feels the support and control of such cities and towns more than it supports or controls them. Indeed, its only power comes from them. It is where sentiment is low, rights uncertain, and the procedure unsettled; where there is little wholesome local initiative and no vital educational aggressiveness, that the aid and power of the State, that is, the aid and power of the stronger districts, must go if the general excellence of the educational system is to promote, or even keep up with, the material growth and the political significance of the State. The State has to legislate for general conditions, but the law is made for and felt most by the conditions that are the worst. The laws are inactive except in conditions that call for them. They must be active when and where necessary. Don't be superficial about this important matter. Think about it and you will be impressed with the fact that the men and women with whom education is a love, and moral culture a passion, never have their feelings outraged by any State invasion of local prerogative, and never discover any menace to education in the growing educational power and the quickened

educational activity of the Empire State. It is only when something mean or wrong is done by some misrepresentative, in the fair name of the State, that such men and women are heard from, as they are bound to be.

It may have occurred to you that I have been wandering from my theme, but the tenure of the teacher can not be well considered without an appeal to general principles that must of necessity be of state-wide application. The right to teach when employed is always regulated and conferred by the State. In theory and practice it has always been so, though until recent years it was delegated to local officers who often exercised their powers very ignorantly or abused them most outrageously. But while the power to certify teachers has always been reserved to the State, the power to employ them has always been conceded to the city or school district. And tenure is a matter of employment. Of course all teachers are employed by public officers and all the doings of public officers are under the control or within the reach of the law. How far should the State go in restricting the absolute freedom of boards of education and trustees to employ such certificated teachers, for such length of time, such pay, and such other conditions as they please? It has gone some length already: how much further should it go? How domineering and unjust shall the law allow an employing officer to be to a certificated teacher, when he has developed a penchant for parading his brief authority or has conceived a fancy for another teacher?

The answer is, I think, that we must believe in the people; that we must assume that boards of education and trustees are honest and sincere, as in nearly every case they are; that the State must lay down the general principles within which they shall confine themselves, and then afford them the free right to use their discretion, within such confines, and expect that they will perform their duties like honest men and women and according to the rule of reason. But while we believe, and assume, and expect all this, we have experience enough to know that there will be many cases in which our benevolent assumptions will not be realized. The schools go on term after term and year after year, but the employing officers change continually. The vagaries are multitudinous and the conditions are kaleidoscopic. The State seems bound to protect its certificates, see that the teacher is protected against vagaries or something worse, and that the schools have steadiness and continuity of procedure. To that end it seems perfectly reasonable

to me that a certificated teacher when once employed shall be given a tenure that shall continue until the position is vacated voluntarily or the teacher dismissed for cause.

But if the tenure of all teachers is to be permanent except for just cause, it will be necessary to extend the accepted or the legal causes for which the services of teachers may be properly discontinued. If we are to make the principle general that a teacher once employed shall be employed as long as he wishes, or until just cause for a change arises, it will be necessary to leave the determination of what is just cause to the discretion of boards and trustees, acting perhaps in cooperation with superintendents, until it appears that such boards or trustees have been moved by bias, or pique, or had some interested motive which was sufficient to disqualify them for the proper execution of their very responsible trust.

But there is much for teachers as well as trustees to think of. Any public employee claiming a permanent tenure must maintain an exemplary character, offer particular preparation, accept the conditions and discipline incident to the employment, meet obligations in honorable ways, and render a service that steadily grows in value. Very likely the teachers do all that more completely than any other class of public servants. But the teaching organization is not altogether exempted from the weaknesses of human nature. Permanency of tenure has some disadvantages as well as considerable justice in it. The weaker ones take advantage of it. There is no one here familiar with the administration of schools in a considerable city under permanent tenure, who does not know that if nothing but the efficiency of the teaching were considered, a considerable number of teachers would have to be removed at once, and then still others would have to be removed next year. A few will break down morally; some will become so slatternly as to make themselves intolerable; others will become soured at the necessary discipline of the service, or estranged from the families they must serve; still others will stagnate professionally, or actually recede in teaching attainments.

The cause of half of this will be with the leadership, with the board or with the superintendent. The board may be unsubstantial or unjust, the superintendent may be a shallow pretender or a conceited martinet. Teachers know better than others do about the capacity and the moral integrity of an administration. They can not stand everything. There is not a large percentage

of them that will not gladly follow a capable leadership, or respond to sane, frank, sincere, sympathetic criticism. A general and imperative condition to successful permanent tenure is that the administration and the supervision of the system shall not be of a kind which contributes to the causes which justify dismissal.

But the system must progress. If it does not the causes must be removed, and quite as much when they rest with the teacher as when they rest with the trustee. Can we specify the causes which shall justly interrupt the employment of the teacher? Unsoundness of moral character is of course sufficient. Rebellion against discipline can have no other result. The management may be unjust and may justify a revolution, and if so there ought to be revolt, but teachers would better not think of it unless there is real cause for it, or without being armed with the facts and equipped with the strength which will make it successful. Finding a new place is sometimes better than revolt. Disagreements with families of the children in the school may justify forcing a change in the teacher: even though the change may not be justified on the ground of moral right, it may be better for the school and even better for the teacher. Conduct in life which, without being immoral, impedes efficiency or brings discredit upon the schools, may be a sufficient cause for removal of the teacher. In common schools the teachers must regard the circumstances and opinions of all the people. Pedagogical reasons, lack of neatness and of control, the waning of the teaching power, may amply justify the termination of the employment. Teachers must keep their own agreements, either express or implied, in order to be in position to exact their rights. If a teacher leaves one position, when under engagement to continue, because he can get more money in another place, he has no claims to the protection of his tenure. We can not assume that a teacher must be guilty of something that should send him to jail, before he may be required to cease teaching in a particular place or altogether. He must attract good citizens, must grow in the teaching power and the teaching spirit, or they will be justified in wanting a change. All the circumstances can not be anticipated nor all the causes specified here or in the law. The good of the schools, the *esprit de corps* of the system, must settle the matter. If a teacher is in the way of the schools growing better, he or she should go.

It must be settled by the responsible authorities charged with the management of the particular school, and, if necessary, it must in

the last analysis be determined by an authority that is without local bias or prejudice, that is sympathetic with teachers, that is in sympathy with parents also, that is intent upon the progress of schools, and that knows how to build up both the sure foundations and the more ornate superstructure of a school system with educational power in it. It would doubtless be better for the system and no more than just to the teachers if all employment were for an indefinite time, provided dismissal might be made very freely by honest trustees for any cause recognized by the law or which would be sustained by the State Department. But whatever is done must be done in the open, at least so far as the teachers concerned wish to have it. It is not necessary that everything should be paraded before the public, but no teacher should be forced out of a place except upon notice, and for a real cause which can be stated in writing. Of course the power of removal should generally be exercised with some reference to the time of year; for immorality it should be summary; for any cause which menaces the discipline and routine of the school it may properly be speedy; for any reason which is substantial but not immediately urgent, it should be delayed until the close of the school year. The right of dismissal for cause should apply to the higher officers and principals even more rigidly than to class teachers. If for any cause whatever the deliberate sentiment of a community wants a change in the office of superintendent of schools or principal of the high school, that sentiment ought to be respected. Of course it must act decently and without senseless precipitancy. But no self-respecting man worthy of a high place in the schools can wish to remain in a place where the deliberate judgment of a respectable board and the settled sentiment of the community are against him. Public sentiment is ordinarily favorable enough to teachers. Often it is too favorable. It is sometimes so considerate, without full knowledge, that demagogues play upon it. When it is adverse it must be accepted. The power of the people and of their representatives over the teaching body in their schools, acting within the limitations of the law and according to the moral principles which we all ought to understand, must be absolute.

Nothing has been said about pensions or retiring allowances for worn-out teachers. It is a subject by itself, and to me a troublesome one. I have always held off about this because of my inherent opposition to a State pension system. But something will have to be done, not only in justice to teachers who have worn themselves

out for small pay in the public service, but for the sake of the schools which can not cast these worthy teachers out even though their efficiency is over and they need a little period of rest on earth before the rest everlasting. We have been doing something in this direction in the last year. Much more will have to be done if there is to be early or very substantial result. In the meantime, if some millionaire wants to do a great deal for education in New York, why does he not create a fund for the relief of exhausted teachers of long service in the public schools, and therefore for the uplift of the public schools themselves? The State has opened the way: why will not some men and women with means walk in it? Is nothing but a college or a university worthy the thought of a man or women with money?

Then my conclusions, stated in a paragraph, are that the employment and promotion and compensation and discontinuance of all teachers should continue to be the functions of officials chosen by the people in the cities and school districts. We must continue to decentralize administration to the fullest extent consistent with efficiency and progress. But the educational system is the State's system, and the State must regulate it by law so far as experience shows to be necessary for its good, taking it in its entirety. When once employed the service of all the teachers might well continue until interrupted by death, resignation, or discontinuance by authority for cause. There is no apparent reason why one teacher should go out and another come in merely because boards and trustees change. But with the more permanent tenure the teachers will have to show more preparation, adaptation to particular position, and professional progress. The causes of removal and the procedure will have to be thoroughly regulated by law. Everything will have to be done in the open. The trustee who removes a teacher through malice or to make an opening for a favorite, should be punished for it. The right of appeal from local action to State authority as to the justness of the removal will have to be well recognized. There the quibbles of pettifoggers will have to be brushed aside, and an ultimate decision made as to whether the removal was free from bad motive and unreasonable official conduct, and whether, without injustice to any legal right of the teacher and with an eye only to the good of the school, it should be sustained. The progress of the school is the paramount matter; there is no more reason why the State should permit the school to be arrested, should permit the whole system to be weakened, in

the interests of weak, unprogressive, or worn-out teachers, than why it should permit it to be menaced by the meanness or the badness of boards and trustees. Teachers who do not grow in professional culture and teaching spirit have small claims; those who do advance in these things have claims that are irresistible and that are widely recognized. It is to the interest of the State to guard them. All that is necessary is to write down the legal principles that properly apply and set up the administrative practice that ought to prevail. There is no great difficulty about it. The interests of teachers who deserve protection, and the interests of schools that deserve to advance are altogether consistent; and the complete reconciliation of these interests in the Education Law is likely to contribute as much as anything else can to uphold the honor and promote the progress of the State.

WEAKNESSES IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

WEAKNESSES IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES¹

This generation and the one preceding it have witnessed almost the whole of the development of American universities. Of course we inherited some of our thinking and some of our plans from other countries, and of course the doings before the Civil War have influenced our later doings in some measure, but in designs, construction, proportions, cost, ideals, and work performed, our highest institutions of learning have been created since the chivalrous and magnanimous peace that was declared at Appomattox. We used to think of the teachers of an advanced institution as less than a score, but now we think of them in hundreds; of students in hundreds, but now in thousands; of property and revenues and endowment in thousands, but now in millions. We used to talk of colleges, but now of universities; of college courses, but now of university "offerings." The courses used to relate arbitrarily and exclusively to literary culture and to training for the ministry, for medicine, and for law; the "offerings" now bear very intensively upon all that but upon infinitely more; upon political administration, upon all the commercial and industrial employments, and upon many of the mere vocations of the people. Only the rich or the unusually earnest used to go to college and the rest got on somehow and the business of the country was managed very well; but now young men and women must go to the universities or be in extreme peril of losing social opportunity and of waiving all likelihood of efficiency and success in business. One must go to a university to become prosperous and respectable. And we have even begun to hear the first whisperings of a demand that nothing shall be allowed in the entire educational system which does not settle it for boys and girls that they shall go to a university, regardless of conditions and attributes, and whether they will or no. Children, parents, states, industrial enterprises, political institutions, all the processes and the very freedom of our entire educational system, are being rushed and restrained by forces that fair judgment would hold to be not absolutely logical, not altogether altruistic, not exclusively charged with the responsibility of settling all the policies of the country.

¹ Address given before the Associated Academic Principals at Syracuse, December 28, 1911.

I have, of course, no sympathy with the ideas of Mr R. T. Crane of Chicago, who has published so much rather virile writing in opposition to all schools above the elementary. But I have respect for him. He is clearly sincere. He is a thoroughly successful captain of industry; his house distributed millions of dollars to its thousands of employees at the last Christmas season as their share in the prosperity of the business; and he would have to be named among the first twenty men who have done the most for the industrial prosperity of the middle west. He says that educators assail him without reading his books. I am not going to assail him, and I have read his books. But I differ with him radically and as a matter of course. He hardly believes in schools at all. He accepts the elementary schools, but nothing beyond. He thinks youth should be trained wholly in offices, factories and shops, as they were when he was a boy. He knows all about industries and banks, but he has been outside of the intellectual advance of the last two generations. With the vocabulary and brusqueness of the factory, he calls universities frauds and says they rob parents and children. Of course he has had his rejoinder. He says one university president called him an "ass," another an "idiot," and a third a "troglodyte." He does not seem to resent this: he says it proves his contention that the higher education is worthless, and supports his opinion of the kind of timber the universities use to make presidents of. It would be very amusing reading, but that it is a bit pathetic.

His vital error is that he believes in nothing educational outside of "business," nothing that unlocks new truth and is uplifting aside from the doubtful way which "business" has of doing it. He has attained success by drudgery and determination: he thinks his success is the only kind and his way of reaching success the only way. Both the strength and the weakness of the man are shown by the fact that he does not seem to care if no one agrees with him. Public opinion *is* of weight; well-nigh universal public opinion upon a policy that has been evolved out of the origin, the history, the intellectual and moral aspirations, and the physical struggles of a democracy of a hundred millions of human beings, is bound to make one man care. Without his realizing it, Mr Crane's methods of inquiry are as unfair and impossible of logical results as his restricted habits of mind. He sends to busy men extended questionnaires which can not be answered categorically, and is critical if not abusive because they are not. He gives his

time and spends his money in propagating an individual vagary rather than in pursuing an open-minded investigation marked by decent respect for the opinions of mankind. To answer his contentions would require the collection of much data and probably six months of the time of a man who is hardly likely to be without more pressing if not more profitable employment than proving what the whole world holds to be obvious and established.

There are some things that he says which might well be answered, and doubtless there are some that might well be heeded. Of course the facts of the case afford, and the literature of the subject contains, ample answers, but the pertinent facts may well be arrayed and the reasons may well be adduced to aid those who are less familiar with the matter than we are. But if he says things which ought to be heeded, then they ought to be heeded none the less because he says them. Great movements and great institutions need criticism; surely criticism ought not to be left to their enemies nor disregarded because their enemies make it. Having no thought of answering Mr Crane, and putting aside the main contentions of his book, I am nevertheless free to say that his claims impel me to speak of some weaknesses in the structure and policies of our American universities which I have long had in mind.

Of course I must speak of them as a whole and also as a type. What is said will apply to some more than to others, and perhaps to some not at all. Yet we have developed an American type of university: there are certain well defined characteristics, a certain oneness, about our higher institutions of learning which distinguish them very clearly from similar institutions in other lands. The older ones have been made over by, and the newer ones have been evolved out of, our universal system of common schools, out of our fundamental political principle that every child of the Republic shall have his even chance, an open road to the most liberal learning, upon which road he may advance just as far as he will. The common passion for all learning and all schools has brought public support and private endowment to our universities, and in turn that has erected in those universities a system of government, a scheme of organization, a plan of procedure, and an outlook upon an objective point, that are all far apart from those in the universities of other lands; even from the universities of other peoples who are possessed of political and religious freedom and not open to the charge of being behind us in their love of learning. This process began very early in our history and it has become more and

more accentuated by our progress and growth. Our democracy and our money have given rise to a type of university that is peculiar to ourselves. In this type, and often in consequence of the very causes which have created its greatness, there have developed some weaknesses, which I shall not refrain from mentioning because they may have been offset by compensatory advantages, because they are more of a menace to some institutions than to others, or because they have become more pronounced in some parts of the country than in other parts. One who is obliged to speak of these things in general terms is confined to the weaknesses that have appeared so commonly in the type of universities that has developed in America that they may be predicted at given stages in the progress of institutions yet to be developed.

The lust for riches and bigness and social influence and political power is a weakness in American universities. It is very American, but it is not scholarly. It is not meant that America stands for grossness, but it can not be denied that its spirit and predominant attributes make for commercial prosperity, for business success, for the acquisition of houses and barns and riches, rather than for scholarship. Of course, riches may be very useful to the progress of scholarship. It is hard to see how any can asperse the motives of rich men and women who have given to schools. But there is a deep gulf between wealth and learning. Riches may weight learning down rather than uplift it. Noble men of means see this and try to avoid it, but it is not wholly avoidable. Human organization with plenty of means is hardly able completely to withstand the influences which are inherent in the conditions that surround commercial prosperity and accumulating wealth. Educational institutions, as well as men, have reason enough to pray to be delivered from both poverty and riches. It is most surely so in America where fortunes are so many and so great. That it might be so in any other country of opportunity does not lessen its seriousness here. It is not so true of the masses in other countries as of the masses here, and there is little danger of the universities of other countries being affected by it as they are here. Real scholarship is seldom rich, or at least it cares little for riches. If rich, it puts scholarship above riches, and uses its riches to promote scholarship. It is modest. It thrives under humble roofs and it dwells in pretty close relations with nature and with God. Its ambition is the acquisition of knowledge, and its highest ambition is to liberate another atom of scientific truth. Great uni-

versities have grown in all lands and centuries by scholars seeking the light and gathering about great teachers who could point the way to it. And if in any country the universities shall become brazen in their quest for money, learning will be grievously wounded in her own house.

The ambition of American universities is to secure gifts and appropriations, to erect sumptuous buildings; and to multiply teachers and matriculants has become so common and pronounced as to be a menace. The president is often chosen because he can get money. The potentiality of the organization goes into this quest for bigness, this consuming American desire to be first in the race or at the top of the heap. Mere bigness is not necessarily a weakness; it even has certain advantages; but the success of presidents is measured by the material growth and by numbers, and the struggle for bigness and particularly for magnificence benumbs and belittles the power to struggle for knowledge and for truth. The passion and the trend set up standards that mislead youth and confuse the common thinking of the country. That is a decided weakness in our American universities and it is, in a considerable sense, peculiar to them.

That is not all that is peculiar to them. They gain the advantages and share some of the disadvantages of our democracy, of our universal support of, and universal disposition to manage, all education. The democratic influence in our universities manifested itself at the very founding of so aristocratic an institution as Harvard College. The uniform usage of the Old World has given the management of the universities into the hands of teachers. At Oxford, and in some measure at Cambridge and Paris, the control had been divided, but it was only a division of functions between teachers. Harvard set up the lay board of control, representative of donors or of the state, and all American universities have followed it, voluntarily but of practical necessity. It is not unlike the division between the public and the professional control that pervades our entire system of education. It has exerted many and mighty influences, and while the good results outweigh those not so good, it must be said that some are distinctly weakening.

It was supposed that this arrangement would assure the permanent democracy of the institutions. With the wealth and the social tendencies which have resulted from the munificent support of states and the monumental gifts from wealthy and large-hearted

donors, it is doing more to make them autocratic on the basis of possessions and power, than any scholastic exclusiveness could possibly have done.

Without saying that in itself it is necessarily a weakness, the lay board of control, representative of donors or of the state, established when Harvard was founded, and followed by all our American universities, has certainly resulted in some troubles that are manifest enough. It has often weakened the support of the most scholarly teachers and sometimes made it pretty nearly impossible to get rid of a teacher even though he be not worth the salt his physical system craves. If a teacher can play the demagogue or has a friend in a meddlesome trustee, he is practically beyond the reach of scholarly discipline. Moreover, arbitrary annual tuition fees and fixed salaries for teachers, while not exclusively American, have had a development here far beyond that of other lands. The common usage in other universities has been to exact fees on the basis of courses, and to pay teachers on the basis of the number of students attracted by their work. The usage here is to charge an annual fee for whatever the student will take in a year, and to pay teachers an annual salary for whatever they do, whether for many or for few. Something is to be said for both plans, but the system of the Old World, whatever else may be said of it, puts a teacher to his utmost and provides an automatic way for eliminating a weak or an obsolete one, and the system of the New World certainly experiences a good deal of demoralization through the salaries and tenure of teachers. Between the board of trustees, the president, the rival claims of teachers, the feelings of students, the state of the treasury, and the outside influences that creep in, it is small wonder that salaries are not always regulated on the basis of scholastic merit, or that it is almost impossible to get rid of an instructor who has not committed a legal or a moral crime. And as crime is practically unknown among teachers, the best often go unrewarded and the rest reap the advantages of a system which has no automatic and no easy way of discrimination upon the basis of merit. The result is a good many weak factors in our university faculties, with the prospect of a good many more unless parents and students begin to discriminate sharply against institutions which do not cure the trouble. But all universities are popular in their own territory, and popular discrimination seems pretty nearly impossible now.

Our democratic university government affords opportunities for

scheming and for successful appeals to flabby sentiment by members of faculties, which are impossible in the Old World. For example, wide open elective courses were sending us to an unthinkable situation. The difficulty had to be cured by reducing the number of electives and by requiring students to take certain courses. This has to be arranged by faculties, and creates the opportunity for requiring students to take the courses of certain teachers. That is an advantage to those teachers and makes for log-rolling. It will be idle to say that log-rolling is impossible in a university. Of course it is of the academic variety and somewhat disguised, but there is hardly an American university that is more free from phases of it than the county court house which is a few miles away. Look at yesterday's or tomorrow's papers to find the man of academic degrees who is long in his vocabulary and short in sense if not in principle, who is dishonoring and degrading a noble institution in the sacred name of "academic freedom." These things seem to foreshadow the time when the compensation of university teachers will have to depend in some measure at least upon the demands for their work, or when they can be "resigned" without academic or public commotions which threaten administrations.

In accompaniment of all this is that passionate fondness of university teachers, as between themselves and even before the public, for that irrelevant discussion which seems to destroy all sense of educational perspective. Doubtless there is psychological reason for it: very likely it is an expression of the inevitable reaction from the labors of the library, the lecture room, and the laboratory. Whatever the cause, there is no lack of profusion about it. They will keep it going by the hour with apparently more pleasure than they can find in any other pastime unless they are menaced by the apparition of coming to an agreement. They remind me of Mrs Kelly, a witty Irish dame, who was certainly advised of some of the social curves when she said to her neighbor "How are ye, Mrs Mahar? Not because I care a hoot how ye are, but just to start the conversation."

In the freedom of the country, in the multiplicity of opinions and of things to be done, university men with mere training in theory and little or no practical experience have little hesitation in representing the universities. The university men best qualified to speak are least willing to do so, and those least qualified are quite willing to attract the public attention which does not dis-

criminate. A young instructor in economics feels himself perfectly qualified to advise the national association of bankers or of manufacturers. It is done not in a personal but in a representative capacity, and it accustoms the people to a great deal from the universities that does not inspire confidence or enlarge the respect that is worth having.

Again, universities, through some of their colleges or departments, often multiply work unreasonably, with the result that they have more to do, have more students, and have claims for more money. Subjects that are not at all involved or obscure are given serious aspects and extended into many offerings with appalling titles, enveloped in a heavy atmosphere, and presented with a sublime seriousness that seems to invest them with profound mystery, learning and erudition. It is seemingly a natural outgrowth of our educational situation and it seems impossible to prevent it. Possibly it would not be well to prevent it. There may in time be compensatory advantages about it, but if our universities are going to value a uniformly substantial character, expressed by their graduates and manifest to the public, there will surely be a reaction against it.

There is another side of the matter. Our universities have a trouble that is common in all American schools. They have at least to respond to the demands upon them. Some encourage demands that are neither educationally sound nor practically wise, because the result will add to their bigness. In any event, those demands are for more than they can do thoroughly well. The American people have less inertia and contentment than the peoples of Europe. Over there people stay where they were born or move to America. Here every one is always going somewhere in quest of riches, position and titles. It has long been very natural to go to the schools, and it is particularly fashionable now to go to the universities. Each wants something when he gets there that few others want. Each expects the universities to respond to all his wants. All this enlarges the buildings and equipment astonishingly, and multiplies the teachers and the classes of teachers inordinately. And the teaching in the universities is not much measured except by examinations which the teachers themselves set, hold, and rate. If we were to classify the teaching in America on the basis of pedagogical result, we would probably hold that the best teaching, the most severely judged teaching, the teaching which must be resultful, is by the women in the primary schools. That

in the high schools is less severely judged, less responsible, more pretentious, and less exact. The teaching in the universities is hardly supervised at all; it exploits involved subjects, it is a law and a judge unto itself, the law of it is very confused, the judge is in little danger of a recall, and withal he is very confident in his judgments of his work. With the growth in the number of teachers, with the youth and inexperience that have to be accepted, with the demoralization of riches, with the strife for more pay and higher position, with all the freedom and independence, with the opportunities for manipulation, and with the weight of democratic or social influence as against purely scholastic merit, it is not surprising if faculties have been weakened and the standards materially affected.

If this is at all true of the faculties, it must be expected to affect the student bodies very materially—and it does. Oh, there are serious and scholarly teachers by the thousands, and there are earnest students by the hundreds of thousands, but it can hardly be denied that because of their newness, their bigness, their independence through wealth, and their democracy, our American universities, speaking generally, are lacking in the exactness of the best scholarship and in the open-mindedness and intensiveness with which sound scholarship pursues the truth. Examples of this lack of exactness and seriousness are common enough, indeed so common that we hardly think of them. Candidates for admission are not turned away because unprepared: they are "conditioned" or made "specials," or sent to some nearby "academic hospital" where they will be doctored up and saved to the institution. Whatever else happens, no student who will add one unit, not to the stature but to the girth of a university, must be lost. The term "research" is used in our universities with a flippancy and a presumption that are often absurd. The elective system will probably justify itself if its worst evils can be cured, but it can hardly be said that it has not contributed to this lack of exactness and of intensiveness that we are thinking about. If it has enabled students to get what they want without taking what they do not want, it has also offered electives to students who, though honest enough, are unable to elect intelligently, and it provides "snaps" for those who can not get through without them. To say the very least, it creates unbalanced and unscholarly foundations for academic degrees. It has therefore demoralized standards and made university honors bearing common titles of wholly different values; it is to be

feared that it has demoralized the public opinion of the country and created the common thought that no one with either wits or money need have much difficulty about getting a degree.

An American university is likely to become a little cosmopolitan world by itself, and sometimes not a *little* one. There is something about it to attract all classes. With fine buildings and grounds and equipment; with lectures and concerts and plays; with fraternities and sororities and clubs; with games and crowds and colors and cheers; with the assurance that any one may come in and get "learning" by mixing in the throng; with all the lies the old grads tell about the things they never did; and, moreover, with the threat of opportunity forever lost and ambition eternally defeated if one travels some other road, is it any wonder that the universities attract all kinds of students and not a few who are "students" in nothing but name?

There are some universities where the teachers are very exacting upon students, and in some universities some students are very exacting upon teachers. The demands of students constitute the life blood of universities. That university is fortunate where either is the case. But there are enough universities where neither is the case. The number of students going to our universities who might better never go at all, the mixed elements in the student bodies, the quantity of unprepared materials without serious purpose, necessarily weakens the structure of the organization and demoralizes its work. It is well to go to Europe to see what they are doing there, though no student need go to Europe to find deeper learning or better teaching than in America. But so long as the teachers are weighted by stupid and indifferent students, and so long as the internal organization and the environing influences fail to put a premium upon the best scholarship and the best teaching and require courage for the ruthless judgment of students' work, there will be a structural weakness in American universities.

Now let us change the point of view and think of the attitudes of our universities toward the common life of the country. And first toward the common schools, that overwhelming factor in the common life. Realizing how undesirable it is to admit so many conditioned and special students, they would make all other schools preparatory to them and thus assume to dominate the middle and lower school systems about which they are otherwise in none too close relations. They tell the high schools just what they must do and leave undone to prepare for college, and when the lower schools

try it, they say with an arrogance that paralyzes credulity that their freshmen have been so badly taught that the college must take several months to clear out their heads before they can really commence the study of the subject at all. Gracious Heavens, if the high schools can not be saved from this, let them be saved from the burden of trying to prepare for college altogether. Any way, why do not the universities either abolish requirements for admission or enforce them? Of course the high schools have the same ambition for "bigness" that the universities have, but why not have it settled what classes of work the high schools can do thoroughly well and discontinue the expensive farce of their trying to do more? Or why do not the universities predicate admission requirements upon the purpose and the power to do their work rather than upon subjects and counts? The western state universities have a better plan than our eastern endowed universities about this. At least it does away with the discussion that occupies most of the time in the academic conventions of the east. They inspect schools and admit on diplomas; if the students can not do their work the semester examinations exclude them; they have had their chance and can not complain. The western students say that it is easy to get in but hard to stay in a western university, and that it is a little harder to get in an eastern university but that it is no task to stay in, and that one who pays the tuition long enough will surely get a degree. Why not have a better plan about this matter here?

But the universities not only criticise the lower schools about the treatment of pupils who are to become college students; they are now actually beginning to criticise them on the score of their treatment of pupils who are not going to college, and censure them for making it possible that any shall not go to college. Indeed, some of them separate the world into two classes: the *learned*, who have read Cæsar, Cicero, Virgil, and Homer, and become enamored of Helen and Cleopatra; and the *lost*, who have taken all this only about as seriously as they do the rest of the literature and history of the world, and have been infected with the heresy that the progress of science, the accumulations of experience, and the advance in philosophy and literature, have proved as much right as have Latin grammar, oratory, and history to be inscribed on the tables of knowledge and of law.

A year ago several of the college or university presidents in this State went so far as to "say things" publicly against vocational

as compared with classical education. One would hardly expect them to do that at any time, but above all at the Christmas time. It was clearly caused by the force of our recent movement for training workmen. And a few months ago my friend, Dean West of Princeton, published a paper entitled "Vocational Training—A Menace to the Universities." Hard experience may lead one to suspect that something of all this ought to be overlooked because of the necessities of speech-making. It makes much difference whether one has to say something or really has something to say. It may be that, like Mrs Kelly, these university men feel the necessity of saying things merely "to keep up the conversation." If they really mean it, then one must ask, Do they think the country exists for the universities or the universities for the country? Is there any real danger of too few educated unproductives or of too few candidates for law and medicine, and of too many trained in skill of hand and in the application of science to industries? Is there any sense in resenting and resisting the making of men and women happier and better through improving the work of their hands when the country needs their better work, and much more of it, very imperatively? Is it wise for a university in an environment that is almost exclusively industrial to preach a philosophy that is worn out anyway and at the best can only unsettle a faith that is both wise and good, and make many misfits in the adjustments of people to work? No one would keep any student from studying history and literature and philosophy and professional technic as exclusively as he pleases. No one entertains any doubts of their very vital and very large importance in the world, or denies their claim to the fullest measure of support. On the other hand, a university that has conceived the idea that cultural and professional learning are all that are entitled to a full measure of support; that its mission is to settle the destinies of boys and girls instead of aiding them to do it intelligently and freely for themselves; or that assumes that all learning, the fullest happiness, or the safest citizenship and the strength of the Republic, are all within the limitations of classical and professional culture, is certain to be menaced by the advancing waves of common intelligence even to the point where the honored lights of a hundred or a thousand years must be submerged. It is to be hoped that the weaknesses which are inevitable in new universities in such a new world, will not be enlarged by any serious support of such a fallacy as this.

Time enough must be reserved for a word about university morals. Probably there is no ground for criticising the good purpose of university management in America, but it is apparent I think that very generally the governments of the universities are showing a woeful lack either of strength or of courage in dealing with the larger bodies of students and the increasing swiftness of student community life. I do not believe that more go to the bad in the universities than would if they did not attend the universities. It may well be doubted whether there is more evil in college life than in social life in general. Even so, this is not enough: students have no business in universities at all if they are not intent upon going to the good rather than half way willing to go to the bad. University life is an association of people who proclaim scholarly aspiration and moral purpose; it ought to endure on no other basis; it is bound to be an example of decent living, and not be content to debase public opinion and degrade the educational system of which it counts itself the head. The society is a selected one; its members are not chosen on the basis of either poverty or riches, or on that of charity or social independence, but on the ground of something accomplished, of pretended intellectual ambition and presumed moral purpose. In these regards it must be held to be above the average in the state, and in government and conduct it must of necessity be either a good example to the state or a deplorably bad one.

There are not many of us who would go back to the severe biblical interpretations or the intolerable religious philosophy of our sainted fathers and mothers. Neither would we return to the religious theory and practice, to the Christian exclusiveness and the innumerable rules of conduct, of our early American colleges. But we are not going to forget the history of American higher education and of America itself. We know what our present estate has grown out of and we know something of the vital basis upon which it may continue to enlarge. A college or university without religious foundations may exist in other countries, but one must have them before it can be an American college or university at all. And it must square its life, not some of its life, not its average life, but *all* of its life, with the fundamentals of its history and its being, or it must accept responsibility for inconsistencies which must necessarily hinder all the purposes which it was set up to promote and be more than likely in the end to destroy its own life.

We accept all the joys and pleasures, even all the harmless pranks, raillery and foolishness, of university life; we believe in manly and womanly sport and are glad to make concessions to it; we will not draw the line too hard against the more luxurious surroundings of modern life and the human frailties that give way to them. Some of us would dislike to join Chancellor Day's society, which would send us out to the woodshed if we wanted to smoke. But when it comes to the brutal vices, to drunkenness, licentiousness, gambling, to violating the rights of person and property, to maltreating other students and taking possession of theaters and cars, to defying the university government and also the public power of police, there can be no latitude for discretion about what is to be done, and no time for procrastination or hesitation. And it is simple enough. Not many rules are necessary. Demand that the police proceed against students just as they do against violators of the peace and breakers of the law of any other class. Assume that all in a university are fit associates in a life which regulates its conduct by moral principle and is bent upon a serious purpose: when it is discovered that one is not, send him out of the inclosure at once and for good. There will be weeping and wailing, pining and pleading, but let it go. There will not have to be so much further on because there will not be the further excesses which grow out of excesses unpunished; the good ship will have shown that she can stand heavy weather; and the captain will be honored for having kept her true upon her great course.

Who can cure these weaknesses? The common sentiment of the country can hardly be expected to do it. That sentiment can not be united, it does not perceive the difficulties, and it hardly has the means. The constituencies of the different institutions ought to force it but such constituencies are accustomed to follow leaders. It is rather too much to expect of the lay boards of trustees. They expect the educational administrations to deal with such matters. It is up to the presidents. They have the power to do it if it can be done at all. Under our university system, the responsibility and the right to lead are theirs. It is a matter of their standards, strength, and courage.

If these structural weaknesses in American universities are cured it will be upon the initiative and under the leadership of their presidents. The office of president, as we know its attributes, is peculiar to American universities; like the lay board of trustees, it is unknown in other universities. It has grown out of the very

necessities of our half popular and half professional, half lay and half scholastic scheme of university government. It is not only the executive force, it is also the conserving, organizing, directive force in administration. It is yet more than that: it is the power that gathers and harmonizes the forces which enter into the evolution of a great university, and it is the power which can enable education to resist the weaknesses and the vagaries inevitably associated with compounding millions of widely different people into a new world power. It is apparently the only power in the forces that are making our universities and in the plan of our university government that can do it. This is depreciating none of the other forces. Money, altruistic spirit, reverence for God, and love of learning, are great forces. A college or a department may be made great by a man who has the head, the training, and the heart of a scholar, and who is given opportunity and provided with means. But no university in America has ever developed strong colleges and departments, and brought each to support all the rest, and effected a comprehensive whole which has quickened the intellectual and moral life of the nation, without having had at least one great president and without having protected him from the vagaries and jealousies of individuals for a considerable time. And if this office is the power that has made many of our universities big and some of them great, we must look to it, and give it the men and the support and the trend which will enable it to make more of them great, and such as are great greater still.

Our theme has not been altogether agreeable. It is to be regretted that it has not been dealt with by one who could make its importance seem more urgent. The weaknesses of the universities are the weaknesses of the nation. We never needed great universities more than we do now. It may be that we are entering as critical a period as we have ever had in the history of the Republic. All government is on trial. Democratic government can not escape further tests of its strength and its beneficence. The bigness of the nation and the heterogeneous character of the people; the great business of developing and conserving our vast physical and political estates; the care of all the wicked, the degenerate, and the unfortunate; the indifference, or at least the helplessness, about choosing competent representative assemblies and the recklessness with which legislation is matured; and the haste and gaiety with which millions, if not scores of millions, seem ready to cast away inbred religious beliefs of the nation and

the fundamental political principles of the government; all point to a period hardly less critical than that period which went just before the making of the Constitution and that other which went just before the Civil War. Of course we are all optimists, but we are barred from being very stupid optimists; we are not ignorant of the low points as well as the high points of human nature, and we have often seen the slants and curves and vacant spaces on the great diagram of human history.

How the races troop over the stage in endless procession!
Persian and Arab and Greek and Hun and Roman and Saxon
Master the world in turn and then disappear in the darkness.

We think we know that this nation will endure; the nations that have perished have neither had our freedom nor been guided by our lights. But we know too, or ought to know, that the nation will endure only by the continuing triumph of the forces of intelligence and righteousness over the forces of ignorance and vice; only by men and parties letting go of issues that are obsolete and burying prejudices that are outworn, and by making moral, scientific, patriotic alinement upon the vital questions of a new situation and a new day. It will have to come through the consolidation of the best thinking and the great-heartedness of the schools and the churches. In very large measure it will have to come through the doings and the teachings of universities that grow out of the genius of the country and are able to lead it; universities that are light-hearted, confident, sincere; that are sane enough to keep in the middle of the road, scientific enough to unlock new truth, and forceful enough to repel error; that are at once unselfish, tolerant, scholarly, democratic, patriotic, and fearless American universities.

INTRODUCTION TO EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT
OF NEW YORK STATE EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT



INTRODUCTION TO EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT OF NEW YORK STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

The Education Department is the instrumentality by which the State of New York now carries on all its innumerable activities for the schooling of its children and the culture of its people. Of course the organizations and agencies voluntarily created by small groups of people and having educational ends in view, can hardly be numbered, and of course the State encourages all of these to act upon their own ideas and pursue their own ends, for it knows very well that its primacy and prestige are not only expressed by what the State government does, but are dependent upon the political independence, the moral and sociological ideals, and the educational energy in the body of people. Even these organizations, notwithstanding their freedom to go and come as they will, interlace with the affairs of the Education Department, for if they are corporations they are chartered by it; if what they do has any bearing upon admissions to the professions they must respond to the requirements of the laws which it administers; and, whatever their special purpose, they are glad to share in the benefactions apportioned by the State, or in the other advantages which necessarily grow out of the cooperation of kindred spirits actuated by common aims. This bare allusion to this boundless field is made to suggest at the outset how inadequate an official report, which must needs deal with mere facts of official routine, must be to convey a just conception of the operations of the New York State Education Department. It is not too much to say that the major part of its doings can not be set down in figures or expressed upon a printed page. Yet what the State provides and directs, the vitality of the organization through which it executes, and the happenings of the succeeding years in its official life, which must be treated in the official reports, comprise the bone and sinew if not the blood and brains of what New York does for the common culture.

The Education Department is a growth. Its organic life began in the year 1784 "at the first session after the peace" when the Legislature created the University of the State of New York. Its advance has not been without many conflicts and some serious blows, but it has been as steady, as aggressive, as broad-minded, and as

self-confident as the State itself. But so far as we can see, the internecine conflicts at least ended with the Unification Act of 1904, and the noble concern of the people of the State in the matters committed to the Department is exemplified in its steadily augmenting activities, and concretely expressed in the beautiful and monumental building that is almost ready for its exclusive use.

The data in this report cover the school year terminating July 31, 1911, but it is customary in such documents to refer to unusual or important facts occurring up to the time of its presentation to the Legislature.

This report is presented to the Legislature of 1912, and the Legislature of 1912 marks the passage of an even hundred years since the Legislature passed an act creating a State officer to be known as the State Superintendent of Common Schools. No such step had been taken before by any state; nor was a similar step taken by any other state for many years thereafter. In 1784 New York had created *The University of the State of New York* under the direction of the Board of Regents, but this had particular reference to the encouragement of colleges and academies. If there was any thought that the operations of "The University" would extend to the upbuilding of a system of common elementary schools, it was not disclosed and certainly it was not realized. In 1795 the Legislature had made an appropriation for the encouragement of elementary and common schools, but it was only temporary if not fitful legislation; it evidenced the purpose of the State but it also evidenced the fact that the State was not yet quite able to see how to realize its purpose in a substantial and enduring way. In 1802 Governor George Clinton in his message to the Legislature said: "The system of common schools *having been discontinued* and the advantages to morals, liberty and good government arising from the general diffusion of knowledge being universally admitted, permit me to recommend this object to your deliberate attention. The failure of one experiment for the attainment of an important object ought not to discourage other attempts." The "failure" to which the heroic old Governor alluded is in danger of being interpreted too broadly. He did not mean that the little local schools had all been closed up, but that the effort to renew the State appropriation for elementary schools which had been made in 1795 and expired in 1800 had failed, and that therefore the creation upon a permanent basis of a State system of schools had failed. The fact is that perhaps for reasons that appear way back in her early history, New

York was thinking of a State system of schools when other states were only thinking about isolated schools; indeed, when other states were assuming that it would be an imperious and sad limitation upon liberty and democracy if any individual school lost any of its individuality in a system of schools, even though such a system was vital to its efficiency if not to its existence, to its power if not to its life.

Governor Clinton recurred to the matter in 1803 and again in 1804. In 1805 Governor Morgan Lewis made it the subject of a special and comprehensive message to the Legislature. He presented a broad scheme to be carried out by the Regents of the University, but the long to be continued opposition to the subordination of the elementary schools to the University had already begun and the Governor's scheme entirely failed except that it did result in the establishment of a permanent common school fund in 1805, and that, as often happens, led to something even better in 1812. The something better was the creation of the office of Superintendent of Common Schools, and happily Gideon Hawley was chosen to fill it.

So this is a centennial Legislature so far as education is concerned. It is a happy and somewhat interesting coincidence that this year, which marks the centennial of the first move by any Legislature in an American state to set up a state organization whose business it should be to bind the schools into an educational system and to extend that system until it should include every home and make use of every educational resource to promote the common culture, should be itself made noteworthy by the same state dedicating, for the first time in America, to the exclusive use of its educational work, a building of such spaciousness and beauty as to rival all of the state capitols of the nation. But it is as fitting and significant as it is pleasing and interesting.

The body of this report for the school year ending July 31, 1911 will be made up of rather comprehensive discussions of the three great subdivisions of our work, namely, elementary, secondary, and higher, by the three Assistant Commissioners of Education respectively, who have the more immediate supervision thereof, and of more exact statements covering the operations of ten of the fourteen divisions of the Department prepared respectively by the Chiefs of those divisions. Perhaps in fairness to these officers it should be said that the Commissioner of Education, or the editor working under his direction, has felt free to eliminate some matter

prepared by them in order to prevent repetitions and make the whole more harmonious, and also to make other minor modifications, but the work of preparation has in the main been theirs. This is something of a departure from the plan followed in previous years.

Some general summaries may be assembled here for the convenience of the reader.

STATE APPROPRIATIONS

Balance of appropriations October 1, 1910.....	\$382 647 68
Appropriations in fiscal year.....	7 051 074 51
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Total available funds.....	7 433 722 19
Expenditures	7 117 988 01
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Balance October 1, 1911.....	\$315 734 18

In the year the Department received from various outside sources fees amounting to \$67,017.78 and paid the same into the State treasury.

Approximately 80 per cent of the moneys appropriated by the State to education are apportioned under the law to local schools and the training of teachers therefor; about 11 per cent of the appropriations went to support what may be called "outside" activities of the Department, such as normal schools, Indian schools, institutes, school commissioners, etc.; and about 9 per cent went to the support of the "inside" work of the Department, such as salaries, traveling, furniture, postage, express, printing etc. In the year an extraordinary appropriation of \$35,000 was made to cover rents, moving charges and the like, in consequence of the fire in the Capitol. Appropriations made for the Education Building or for the restoration of the State Library do not enter into these statements.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

There are 11,777 school districts and 12,094 public schoolhouses in the State. The total attendance of pupils between five and eighteen years of age was 1,421,843. The number over eighteen years old was 14,737. The number of certificated teachers employed for 160 days or more was 43,117. The number of teachers employed for some portion of the year was 45,366, of whom

5086 were men and 40,280 were women. The number of men is 70 less and of women 575 more than in the preceding year. The total amount expended for teachers' wages was \$36,169,810.65. The average annual salary of teachers was \$838.88. There was expended for buildings, sites, repairs, furniture etc. \$6,686,445.38; for apparatus \$115,310.86; for libraries \$249,780.84; for other incidental expenses \$10,016,791.59. The total sum raised by tax and expended for schools was \$53,238,139.32.

OTHER THAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The attendance upon the academies reporting to the Department was 47,480, upon normal schools 6965, upon teachers training classes and schools 3888, upon universities, colleges and professional schools 36,215, upon Indian schools 851, upon evening schools, 146,422, and upon private schools of all grades according to our best estimates 225,000.

INVESTMENTS IN SCHOOLS

The total investment of the State of New York in school property is \$363,790,388, of which \$171,155,030 is in elementary school property, \$30,232,576 in high school property, \$25,976,465 in academy property, and \$127,147,557 is in the property of universities, colleges and professional schools.

The total expenditures in the school year 1910-11 for elementary schools was \$45,190,382.50, for high schools \$8,751,215.53, for academies \$4,119,024.29, for universities, colleges and professional schools \$16,396,373.64, for special higher institutions \$373,852.65, for normal schools \$457,371.57, for training classes and schools \$392,195.25, for Indian schools \$17,138.74, for evening schools \$929,377.50, and for trade and vocational schools \$236,780.64. The grand total of money paid by the people of the State for schools in the year was \$76,863,712.11.

The colleges of the State, by which is meant not only the separate institutions but those which are associated together in universities, and also the professional and technical schools above the secondary grade, move forward in numbers and means at least. Last year these institutions had 4663 teachers and 36,215 students. The expenditures for higher education during the year were \$16,395,373.64. The total value of collegiate property is \$135,808,677.81 and the net assets \$127,147,557.43. In the seven years since educational unification the college faculties increased

25 per cent, the students 23.6 per cent, the expenditures increased 32.9 per cent, the investments 46 per cent and the net holdings 49.7 per cent. This rapid evolution is mainly due to the extension of scientific applications to industrial operations. The reactive influence of this upon the quality of American scholarship is a mooted question. There is apparently not much occasion for anxiety about that because scholarship that is real will live and expand and if anything is entitled to the benefit of scientific learning it is industry. It may, however, be observed that there is some ground for questioning whether the overwhelming motive in American universities is not numbers and wealth rather than scholarship, bigness rather than greatness, influence rather than helpfulness to all. In any event, whether there is necessity for the reflection or not, it is worth thinking about.

The enormous amount of details handled by the Department may be somewhat indicated by the fact that last year more than half a million answer papers were rated in examinations and that 49,030 certificates were issued. But this signifies only one phase of one division of our work. The examination papers have to be prepared to accord with and stimulate the work in the schools; the examinations have to be supervised; the correspondence associated with the examinations is vast and must of necessity be painstaking and exact. It is small wonder that some candidates are aggrieved, yet on the whole the matter runs with little difficulty; indeed with much less difficulty than before the creation of the State Examinations Board composed of leading teachers in the elementary, secondary and advanced schools. And it distinguishes and uplifts New York education in the opinion of the country. It supplies the basis of preparedness for professional study and creates a firmer basis of professional scholarship and competency than obtains in any other state.

The vast work carried on by the Department in general will be suggested in the succeeding pages by the Assistant Commissioners, the Chiefs of the working divisions, and the Directors of the Library and the Museum. This year they have been asked to set forth their work under their own names. One who will go over these pages can not fail to be impressed with the responsibilities of the Education Department. In ordinary fairness it must be said that these continually multiplying responsibilities have in all recent years had to be met under most disadvantageous circumstances and that the disadvantages were much aggravated by the fire in the Capitol on the 29th of March.

Our divisions of work have been so scattered about the city and so hampered by inconveniences of living and work as to make unity and efficiency extremely difficult. In my judgment the officers and employees of the Department are entitled to commendation for having held on to and held up standards as well as they have. And now we look forward with eager anticipation to being reunited and made comfortable in the new Education Building, for which we have to thank the government of the State, and in which we hope to render to the people of New York a more excellent educational service than they have ever had.

THE STORY OF THE ERECTION OF THE
EDUCATION BUILDING

THE STORY OF THE ERECTION OF THE EDUCATION BUILDING¹

The effort for the erection of the State Education Building had one controlling motive, and that was to consolidate and gain added support and keener energy for the educational activities of the State. It was the direct outgrowth of the unification of the two State education departments—the Regents of the University of the State of New York, created by the Legislature at the “first session after the peace” in 1784, to charter and supervise the higher institutions, and the Department of Public Instruction, going back to the first act of any American state creating a state system of common schools and a state department to supervise them, which was in 1812. This unification was provided for by law in 1904. It, or something else very decisive, was made necessary by the clashing between the two departments which had shown itself on many occasions and in the preceding decade had become so acute that the people and the Legislature felt it to be intolerable. The Unification Act was not very well suited to its purposes; there was opportunity enough for further trouble in operating it; indeed, it was far from acceptable to all and further trouble seemed inevitable. The Regents and the Commissioner of Education had, however, by a rational and conciliatory course managed to realize the wishes of the people and to bind together completely and actually harmonize the feelings of the educational forces of the State.

It was felt that there ought to be a monument to this epochal accomplishment and that it ought to be in a form which would express the satisfaction of the State at the actual accomplishment of the educational unification which many had sought so long. It was also felt that there should be some graphic expression which would vividly portray to all the people of the State and to the whole world, the interest which New York has in both popular and higher education. It seemed fit that the commonwealth which had always stood for the most centralized and efficient support of public education; in which the first common school was established; which was the first

¹ Special theme, written by the Commissioner of Education for the Eighth Annual Report of the State Education Department (1912).

to create a state board to charter and supervise colleges and academies; the first to appropriate money to common schools and to establish a permanent common school fund; the first to create the office of State Superintendent of Common Schools and a State Department of Public Instruction; and the first to unify all its munificent and innumerable educational activities under one administration, should be the first to erect a separate building which should stand exclusively and aggressively for its concern about the intelligence and the character of all its people. And withal it seemed important to do whatever might be done to commit all future Governors and Legislatures to still greater provision and yet more earnest endeavor for the widest possible diffusion of all learning.

The obvious need would be met and the natural impulses of all this would be realized in a beautiful and impressive building more completely than in any other way. But the movement for a building had other than sentimental or philosophical support. There were arguments enough for it which would appeal to the press and which the Governor and the legislative committees would not want to ignore. The Education Department was quartered in a half dozen places in the Capitol and in other buildings in the city of Albany. Other departments as well as the Education Department were needing more room, and would be glad to have the Education Department move out. Other departments with superior political influence or readier access to the seat of power had often induced the Trustees of Public Buildings to take one room after another from the Education Department for their accommodation. The Education Department was thus operating at great inconvenience and disadvantage. Unity and discipline and efficiency were almost impossible. Nor was that the worst. Its priceless accumulations of books and historical manuscripts could not be properly cared for and were actually in danger from fire. Of course they were largely housed in a "fire-proof building" and there was no thought of such a conflagration as has since visited them, but the danger from fire to the contents of single rooms was not only actual but was seriously asserted. Even more; the danger extended to human life. The Department had many employees occupying tower rooms, far from the ground, who might be shut off from escape in case of fire. And aside from this menace, employees were obliged to occupy unhygienic quarters and the Department development was being arrested. Thus the concrete and practical reasons for a building supplemented the more sentimental ones, and together they could not fail to make the path of duty and good policy clear enough to the Commissioner of Educa-

tion who was under the law the executive head of the Education Department and the custodian of its collections.

The first official step looking to the erection of the Education Building was taken by the Commissioner of Education on January 18, 1905, in the following statement to the Board of Regents:

Separate Building for Education Department

The Education Department has nearly, or quite, three hundred employees in its service. The rooms provided for the Department are wholly inadequate to the convenience or efficiency of this large force. Several rooms are improperly congested and several lack in conveniences that are imperative. A considerable number of our employees are in tower rooms, *from which escape would be very difficult, if not impossible, in case of fire.* The whole Capitol is congested in some measure and undoubtedly all its occupants would be desirous of having the Education Department provided for otherwise, in order to enlarge accommodations for those who would remain. The State Library is in imperative need of more room—indeed, of much more room. Its growth must be arrested unless more adequate provision is made for it at an early date.

More than this, it may be said that the erection of a building by the State, which should be wholly given to the uses of the Education Department, including the Library and the State Museum, would be a very decided advantage to all of the educational activities of the State. It would distinctly represent the interests of the State in education. It would uplift and dignify the importance of the educational work of the State in the minds of the masses. The matter has been discussed for several years and it seems to be very commonly accepted that such a building should be provided. Governor Higgins in his recent annual message to the Legislature refers to the proposition and not unfavorably.

As to just what the initiatory steps ought to be, should only be determined after serious discussion, but it seems to me clear that we should present the matter in all seriousness to the Legislature now in session. It might be well to go no further this year than to ask the State to commit itself to the proposition and take measures for acquiring a suitable site near the Capitol and for causing the State Architect to prepare the necessary plans and secure tenders with proper security for the completion of the structure, and make report to the next Legislature. Possibly it might be well to advise the creation of a special commission, consisting of prominent State officials, to attend to the matter. I am sure, however, that if it were committed to the present Superintendent of Buildings, it would be well managed.

I submit the whole matter to your consideration, with the recommendation that the committee on legislation be directed to take steps for carrying the suggestion into effect.

Of course this communication to the Regents was gratifying to them. The matter had been many times spoken of and they fully realized the importance of it. Possibly it had been talked of so many times without result that they had little confidence that the thought could be realized. They well knew that there would be some very natural opposition throughout the State to starting another large State building at Albany. Yet it was well agreed that the proposition was a sound one and the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Voted, That the recommendation of the Commissioner of Education concerning a separate building for the Education Department be referred to the special committee on legislation together with the Commissioner with power to act upon their discretion in the matter.

Nothing having resulted in the meantime, the Commissioner of Education recurred to the matter at a meeting of the Regents December 14, 1905, in the following statement:

New Education Building

In my opinion the Department will fall short of meeting its responsibilities to the high trusts in its care unless it makes very earnest and formal representations to the Governor and the Legislature of the imperative need of larger provision for the State Library, the State Museum and the working forces of the Department. The officers and employees of the Department, numbering almost three hundred persons, are in widely separated rooms on five floors of the Capitol and also in the old State House and the Geological and Agricultural Hall. We are also renting an old malthouse for storage purposes. This makes it difficult to create unity and enforce discipline. But perhaps worse than this, the accommodations in many cases were never intended for their present uses and are often not only unsuitable because in out of the way places and lacking conveniences and desirable lighting for office work, but are unsanitary and *dangerous in case of fire*. Beyond this, the State Library is already being arrested in its development by lack of space for its constant accumulations, and its invaluable collections of historic documents and relics are not only in need of better accommodations which will enable them to be better kept and at the same time more accessible to students, but they are not growing as they would if there were enlarged space and better accommodations for them. Beyond the immediate and pressing needs of the situation is the indubitable fact that if the State will signalize the administrative unification of its educational machinery, which in extent and articulated relations and potential possibilities is exceedingly conspicuous in the country, by a separate building which will make suitable provision for its educational work and stand, in the popular mind, for the great interest of the State in intellectual activities and

moral progress, it will take a great step not yet taken by any other state and one even more consequential and beneficent than many of the generation which does it are likely to realize.

I am not without very confident thought that appropriate representations to the proper authorities will result in desirable action, but whether it does or not, I entertain no doubt of our duty in the premises and I trust we shall no longer defer taking a definite and decisive attitude in relation to this all-important matter.

Concerning this the Board, on motion of Regent Philbin, passed the following:

Voted, That in the judgment of the Board of Regents, the needs of the Education Department and particularly of the State Library and State Museum for better accommodations are very serious. The employees of the Department are so widely separated as to make desirable unity very difficult of attainment, and in many cases rooms are being used which are lacking in suitable conveniences if not in proper safeguards against ill-health and accident. The growth of the State Library is being arrested for lack of room and the historic collections of the Library are not as well accommodated or made as serviceable to students as they clearly should be. This is a hindrance to the uniform development of the State which it can not afford and to which the people are opposed. The Board of Regents also represents to the responsible authorities the very great desirability of housing all of the interests in charge of the Education Department in a separate and distinctive building, which will not only promote administrative efficiency but stand in the popular mind for the interest, wisdom and aggressiveness of the State concerning intellectual and moral advancement, and that a committee be appointed to take such steps as may be advisable to procure the much needed separate building for the purposes of all branches of the Education Department.

The committee appointed pursuant to the foregoing vote consisted of Regents Sexton, Lauterbach and Francis.

The Commissioner of Education often conferred with Governor Higgins about the proposition and was always assured that it had the general sympathy of the Governor, although he expressed some misgivings as to how the expense of such an important undertaking could be met from ordinary revenues, and also some apprehension about the possibility of carrying out such a project without a scandal, from which he fondly hoped that his administration might be free.

Early in the session of the Legislature of 1906 the Commissioner of Education asked Senator John Raines, President of the Senate, with whom he had been long and agreeably acquainted, to give the matter his very serious attention, with the

result that it was fully discussed between them, and Senator Raines agreed to give the proposition his best support. His support was extremely meaningful. He opened the campaign by introducing in the Senate on February 14, 1906, the following preamble and resolution which were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, it has for some years been commonly alleged that the Capitol affords very inadequate and unsuitable working room for the constantly multiplying departments of the State government; that rooms are too much congested; that the clerical force often lacks necessary conveniences and, in many instances, is quartered in tower rooms and out of the way places never intended for clerical work, and that, notwithstanding this, space which is very much needed for the steadily expanding work can not be had, and

WHEREAS, the State Museum with its valuable historic and scientific collections is housed in antiquated and inconvenient buildings and is in constant danger of destruction by fire, and

WHEREAS, the State Board of Regents has recently certified to the Governor and the Legislature that for lack of room the books, historical documents and relics of the State Library can not be properly cared for, and that the Library, which is clearly the foremost state library in the United States, is being arrested in its growth and permanently injured for lack of proper accommodations; therefore

Resolved, that the finance committee of the Senate be requested to inquire into said matters and report the facts relating thereto with such recommendations and bill as the committee shall think advisable.

On the 29th of March Senator Raines introduced the following bill, prepared by the Commissioner of Education:

AN ACT

Directing the acquisition of a site for and the erection of a State Education Building, providing for the State Library and the State Museum, and making an appropriation therefor.

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1. The Trustees of Public Buildings are hereby directed and empowered to determine upon a suitable site near the Capitol for a building for the use of the State Education Department, including the State Library and the State Museum of Natural History, and to acquire the same either by condemnation under the power of eminent domain through proceedings instituted by the Attorney General, or by negotiation and agreement with the present owner or owners as to the just valuation thereof, and also to proceed to the erection of a suitable building thereon for the purposes provided herein.

§ 2 The State Architect shall prepare plans, drawings and specifications for a building which shall be of stone and steel construction and fireproof throughout, and which shall provide accommodations for the officers and employees of the Education Department, with suitable accommodations for the safe and proper care for the collections of every description belonging to the State Library and the State Museum and shall reasonably anticipate the growth of such collections. Such plans shall be so arranged as to permit of the future extension of the library stacks and of the museum spaces without other changes in said building. Suitable rooms for the Board of Regents and for the occasional meeting of educational, literary, historical and scientific assemblages shall be included, and all proper and reasonable conveniences, with ample storage accommodations, shall be provided. Such plans and specifications shall be approved by the Trustees of Public Buildings, the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York, and the Commissioner of Education.

§ 3 When such plans and specifications have been made and approved as herein provided, the Trustees of Public Buildings shall advertise in not less than five nor more than ten daily newspapers of the State for tenders from contractors and builders setting forth the terms upon which they will undertake the erection of said building according to said plans and specifications. Said tenders shall be accompanied by such guaranty bonds or cash deposits as shall be required by said Trustees of Public Buildings and shall satisfy said trustees that the person, firm, or corporation proposing to erect the whole or some part of said building will enter into contract and complete the work proposed to be done according to the terms of the propositions presented. Said trustees may, in their discretion, call for tenders upon the erection of the whole of said building by one contracting party, or for the performance of different parts of the work by different parties, or for both of such plans of procedure.

§ 4 If said Trustees of Public Buildings shall obtain satisfactory tenders proposing to erect and complete said building before July 1, 1909, for a sum not exceeding three millions, five hundred thousand dollars, including the cost of the site, said trustees are authorized and empowered to enter into contract for the performance of said work with the party or parties who, being in the judgment of said trustees well capable of performing the work, shall propose the terms which are the most advantageous to the State. If said trustees shall receive no satisfactory tender for the completion of the work, including the purchase of site, for a sum not exceeding three millions, five hundred thousand dollars, said trustees shall enter into no contract for the erection of the building and shall proceed no further than the acquisition of a site therefor until the facts shall have been reported to and acted upon by the Legislature.

§ 5 Upon the completion of said Education Building, the Education Department, including the State Library and the State Museum, shall occupy the same and shall forthwith vacate all rooms occupied by said Department in the Capitol, in the old State House, in the

Geological and Agricultural Hall, and in any building or buildings rented for storage or other purposes.

§ 6 The sum of four hundred thousand dollars is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the purchase of a site for said Education Building and for any expenses incidental thereto, and also for the services of any designers or draughtsmen who may be specially employed by the State Architect for this work with the approval of the Governor, or for any other expense approved by the Governor. The money shall be paid by the Treasurer upon the warrant of the Comptroller and after the certificate of approval by the Governor.

§ 7 This act shall take effect immediately.

As time advanced, Senator Raines became enthusiastic over the proposition and very proud of his sponsorship for it. His great influence, added to the real importance of the project, secured for it the very thorough consideration of the Senate finance committee. All of the members became interested in it. Politics was happily abjured. No substantial opposition developed. It was generally agreed that something must be done, and the committee gave a long afternoon to the perfection of a bill that would gain the best ends. At one time it was proposed to provide quarters for the Court of Appeals in the new building, but Senator Thomas F. Grady, leader of the minority in the Senate, a long and valued friend of the Commissioner of Education, stoutly insisted that the building should stand for popular education and nothing else, and that view was generally taken. The long and practical experience of the members of the committee resulted in a number of marked improvements to the bill that was before them. Going over the measure sentence by sentence, they came to a unanimous and cordial approval of it in the form in which it finally became a law. They perfected the scheme for securing the most resultful architectural competition and, rather singularly, they enlarged the authorized cost of the structure. The original bill provided \$3,500,000 inclusive of the site, and the committee provided \$3,500,000 exclusive of the site. It was supposed that the site would cost in the neighborhood of \$500,000. Whether this change in the amount provided for in the bill was intentional or inadvertent is not certain, but in any event it was one about which the Education Department would not be inconsolable.

On the 20th of April the finance committee made the following report to the Senate in response to the resolution of February 14th:

STATE EDUCATION BUILDING

STATE OF NEW YORK

ROOM OF THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE

April 20, 1906

To the Senate:

The finance committee has given the matter careful inquiry and consideration, and submits the following facts:

The Education Department has general supervision of all the schools of the State, and also of the State Library and State Museum. It has two hundred and eighty-five employees. It occupies widely scattered rooms upon five different floors of the Capitol, in the old State Hall, in the Geological and Agricultural building on State street, and it rents for storage purposes an unsuitable structure formerly used as a malthouse.

Perhaps the most urgent demands are on the part of the State Library.

STATE LIBRARY

In the size and richness of its collection the New York State Library ranks fifth among the libraries of America, the first four being the Library of Congress, the New York Public, the Boston Public, and the Harvard University libraries, in the order named. It is easily first among the *state* libraries of this country. In physical equipment and facilities for handling its collection it holds an unenviable place near the bottom of the list.

The library now contains 568,317 volumes (including duplicates), 56,076 pictures, 432,433 pamphlets and 265,000 manuscripts.

These manuscripts include public records obtained by gift, purchase, and transfer from the Secretary of State, Comptroller, Senate and Assembly clerks and other state officers under concurrent resolution of the Legislature of December 15, 1847; Laws of 1859, chapter 321; Laws of 1881, chapter 120; and Laws of 1892, chapter 378, sections 16 and 20. They include all that has been preserved of the—

Papers of the administration of the Director General and Council of the Dutch West India Company, 1630-64.

Executive and legislative papers, other than land papers, of the period of English colonial administration, 1664-1775.

Transcripts from foreign archives relating to the colonial history of the State, 1611-1782.

Accounts of the Colony and State, 1665-1785.

Marriage bonds given in return for marriage licenses issued by the secretary of the province, 1752-84.

Papers laid before the Provincial Congress and Committee of Safety, with their minutes and correspondence, 1775-78.

Files of the Council of Appointment, 1778-1822.

Legislative papers from the organization of the State government in 1777 to date.

State census returns, 1801-1892.

Correspondence of Sir William Johnson, Sir John Johnson and Colonel Guy Johnson, 1738-90.

Papers of Governor George Clinton, 1763-1844.

Papers of Governor D. D. Tompkins, 1792-1847.

In addition to these are 55,000 miscellaneous legal and private papers relating to Vermont, known as the Henry Stevens papers, 1750-1850; a complete collection of autographs of the signers of the Declaration of Independence; the first draft of Washington's Farewell Address; the original of his Opinion of his General Officers; the original draft of the first Emancipation Proclamation, September 22, 1862; and other documents not properly classed as public records of the State.

All these priceless manuscripts are crowded into a narrow, un-ventilated storeroom which was originally the top part of a blind corridor 30 feet high. For the most part they are packed in wooden cabinets and on wooden shelves.

The condition of the manuscript division is typical of the conditions all over the Library. Everywhere books are crowded into badly ventilated, makeshift rooms which are hot in summer and cold in winter.

The law library is one of the largest common and statute law collections in the world. Among its special features are:

Practically complete collections of the statute law and reports of the courts of the United States and of Great Britain and her colonies.

Laws and reports of the countries of continental Europe, including France, Germany, Russia, Belgium and Holland, and the codes of Spain and the South American republics.

Journals and documents of legislative bodies in the United States and Great Britain.

Constitutional conventions, debates, proceedings, and journals, complete for New York and practically so for the other states.

Trials, collected and individual; one of the largest known collections, numbering over 5000 trials.

New York cases and briefs of counsel, indexed on cards, Court of Appeals, 1847-date (23,456 cases); Supreme Court, 1874-date (65,364 cases), the only complete sets in existence; miscellaneous courts, 1892-date (4575 cases).

Miscellaneous opinions of New York Supreme Court, 1874-date.

This very important collection has become badly congested through its own growth and by crowding from other divisions of the Library.

The medical library, though it has its headquarters in one of the rooms on the third floor, is really scattered all over the Library. While the Legislature is in session many of its books are not available because shelved in rooms occupied by legislative committees.

The Library now occupies over fifty rooms on the third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh floors of the western end of the Capitol, the last two floors having been made out of what was originally the attic. It also occupies storage space on the first floor and in the

attic over the Assembly chamber, and in an outside leased building in which are about 200,000 volumes of duplicates and less used books, nailed up in boxes and wholly inaccessible. This leased building, an old malthouse several blocks distant from the Capitol, is without heat, light or fire protection. If its contents were where they could be properly shelved and listed, the Library could be greatly enriched by the sale and exchange of duplicates.

In general, the present quarters were never adapted to library purposes, are inconvenient, poorly ventilated and crowded with temporary shelving of all sorts. The original stories of the building have each been divided into three or four mezzanine floors to secure shelf capacity. Classes and subclasses of books have to be separated, and even volumes of the same series are frequently shelved on different floors and at different ends of the building. In many places books stand two and three rows deep on the shelves, and large folios are shelved in accessible places, to the injury of valuable files. Those next to the roof are often injured by rain leaking through and tin pans are scattered around to catch the drip and save the books, maps etc. as much as possible. The glass roofs make the heat in these upper floors unbearable in summer, and destructive to their contents. The pine shelving in various parts of the Library, with the miles of electric wiring, are a constant menace. The constant shifting of books, made necessary by the crowding, is expensive. The card catalog is two floors by elevator from the cataloging department. Because of all this confusion and crowding there is danger to the Library collections, slow and inadequate service to the public, loss of time and opportunity to the student, and greatly increased cost of administration. There is no opportunity to display the resources of the Library and it is thus deprived of the most natural means of promoting its use and encouraging its support. These conditions being widely known the flow of valuable gifts to the Library is checked, and one of its greatest sources of enrichment seriously impaired.

The main entrance to the Library leads directly into the reference room, which should be a place for quiet study. The conversation of guides and visitors, the rattling of elevator doors and the tramping of feet on the tile floors make quiet impossible. There should be a much larger collection of reference books on open shelves in this room, but lack of shelf room makes this also impossible.

From an administrative point of view, the New York State Library is an expensive aggregation of temporary expedients.

Founded in 1818, the Library began its career with 656 volumes. The collection is now sixteen times as large as it was in 1850, and has doubled in size in the last twelve years. The card catalog and most important indexes now contain a million and a half cards. The annual increase is from 20,000 to 30,000 volumes; 30,000 to 40,000 pamphlets; 7000 pictures, and 80,000 to 100,000 cards. A mile of linear shelving is needed for the additions each year. This startling statement will be found sufficiently conservative when it is

considered that art books, bound newspapers, books for the blind, etc., often occupy the space of eight or ten ordinary octavo volumes.

Considering its present needs and those of only the next ten or fifteen years, the Library should have, besides administrative rooms and adequate quarters for its manuscript collections, etc., capacity for 1,000,000 volumes. The new building, moreover, should be so constructed that this capacity could be doubled after the lapse of about fifteen years, without altering or spoiling the general scheme.

MENACE TO THE CAPITOL

The immense amount of wooden shelving, wooden galleries, documents, books and other inflammable material occupying the whole west side of the Capitol is a constant menace from fire, which if once started in these shafts and galleries would totally destroy a structure which has cost twenty-five million dollars.

Scarcely less urgent than the needs of the State Library are those of the State Museum and the scientific departments of the State.

NEW YORK STATE MUSEUM

The scientific collections of the State are priceless. They are the acquisitions of seventy years of official activity in New York State science, but under the conditions which now prevail and have existed for the past fifteen years the interested public is practically debarred of access to them. It is for the education of the New York public that these collections have been brought together and the existing situation deprives the people of a distinct educational right and advantage. Such collections can not remain stationary in volume. The influx of materials necessary to the progress of all branches of the scientific work, yearly and almost daily aggravates the problem of the disposition of these collections. Contrasted with the provision made by governments, states and municipalities elsewhere for the care of such public scientific collections, the present housing of this scientific property is not a credit to the people or the State of New York.

The annual increase in these collections is from 25,000 to 30,000 specimens. Instead of there being an increase of space for the accommodation of these additions, there has been during nearly twenty years a gradual diminution in the space available for their disposition.

Fifty-one years ago the Geological Hall on State street was set aside for the reception of these collections and it was within a few years filled with well displayed collections occupying four floors and basement with the exception of three chambers set aside for the use of the Department of Agriculture. In 1882 the Legislature recognized the fact that these quarters had become overcrowded and insufficient for the display of the natural resources of the State and by statute the authorities of the State Museum were ordered to acquire rooms in the State Hall as it was assumed that those rooms would be vacated by the removal of the financial

offices to the Capitol. By 1886 the Museum had occupied three rooms in the basement, three rooms on the second floor formerly occupied by the Attorney General, the Canal Board and the Commissioners of the Land Office, and five rooms on the third floor.

However, to meet the exigencies of public business which have arisen during the last twenty years, these quarters have been again and again contracted in spite of the progress of scientific work. For ten years it has been necessary to recognize the fact that the Museum could not even keep its ancient hold upon the space formerly assigned to the scientific collections. Repeatedly to meet the demands of public business it has withdrawn from one room after another in the State Hall until at the present time it has left in that building only one basement room equipped with the machinery and mechanical appliances of the Museum, and three rooms on the top floor used as offices.

Until the present year, however, it has been possible to protect the collection rooms in the Geological Hall from encroachment, except so far as they have been in part required for our own offices; but within the past three months it has been necessary to meet the irresistible demands for more office room by surrendering to the Department of Agriculture several thousand square feet of floor space in the Geological Hall, and, in so doing, compelled to displace and pack away out of sight some of the most attractive and instructive parts of the Museum collections.

The scientific collections are today scattered through various buildings, and their distribution may be briefly summarized as follows:

(a) *Geological Hall.* Here are the offices of the State Botanist with the herbarium; of the State Entomologist with the collections of insects; of the Assistant State Geologist; the Mineralogist, and the Zoologist. These office quarters have unavoidably displaced some considerable part of the display collections, as the first two officials named were formerly located in the Capitol and the other offices, so far as they existed at all, were upon the first floor. Until within a few weeks the Museum occupied 22,000 square feet of floor space in this building, absurdly inadequate for both the offices and the collections of the department. This space has recently been taken away to make room for the Agricultural Department that its removal from the Capitol might make room for the Gas Commission. In the basement and cellar are stored the collections which have won grand prizes and gold medals at the recent expositions at Buffalo and St Louis and also the entire collection of minerals.

(b) *State Hall.* The offices of the Director, Geologist and Paleontologist and his staff are in this building, which also contains the most valuable part of the paleontologic collections of the Museum. These are stored in several thousand drawers and boxes. In the basement is the rock-cutting plant and the machine shop. Within the past three years three of the rooms formerly occupied have been surrendered to the Corporation Tax Bureau and one basement room to the State Engineer.

(c) *Capitol.* The corridors on the fourth floor at the western end and the landing of the western stairway contain series of cases filled with such parts of the Indian collections as can now be displayed. Additional specimens pertaining to this collection are in the State Library and many others are packed away in the hope of future opportunities for exhibition.

(d) *Storage House (McCredie Malthouse).* In this building there are stored many hundreds of boxes and cases of scientific specimens of various kinds, some of which have not been opened in half a century; others containing the materials recently acquired, which, after being studied, have had to be put away.

(e) *Flint Granite Company, Cemetery station.* Here are stored some very large slabs of fossils having a total weight of upward of twenty-five tons.

These collections, now scattered through five buildings, are in very large measure of such quality that they can not be duplicated. They are in no small part unequalled. The New York State Museum is one of the oldest public scientific museums in America and it has the largest scientific collection belonging to any State in the Union. This historic record has given it a high repute throughout the world, but its invaluable scientific property must fail to serve the people and public education so long as it remains in its present deplorable condition. The financial value of these collections and their worth to New York science are too great to excuse the existing situation.

INSUFFICIENT WORK ROOM FOR DEPARTMENT FORCE

The working force of the Education Department is so widely scattered as to seriously interfere with department unity, discipline and efficiency. But that is not the worst of it. Many rooms are occupied and overcrowded which were not originally intended to be occupied as working rooms at all, and are without suitable light, heat, ventilation or toilet accommodations, and which in several cases can not be said to be secure against accident or fire. For example, the Examinations Division, with 65 employees, occupies a room on the sixth floor in the *northeast* tower of the Capitol. It is reached only by the Senate elevators, *on the south side*. There are no stairways. It is wholly unadapted by reason of insufficient light, heat, ventilation, storage accommodations, toilet conveniences and means of exit for so many persons engaged in such high grade work. It is over the Assembly staircase, about the security of which so much is being said. The same conditions prevail essentially concerning a room in the southwest tower, sixth floor, except that this room can be reached only by a private elevator. It is not deemed necessary to go further as to details, but it is wholly within the fact to say that very many circumstances concerning the insufficient spaces at the service of the Department demand the attention

of the Legislature in the interest of the safety and the ordinary comfort of employees, as well as in the interest of efficient and economical administration.

THE REMEDY

The only means of relief is through a separate building near the Capitol. If this should be provided, it would seem that true wisdom would make it large enough to accommodate all of the interests in charge of the Education Department. It should reasonably anticipate the growth of the next fifteen or twenty years and be so planned as to permit of an extension of the State Library stacks at any future time. This would release the spaces occupied by the Education Department in the Capitol, the old State House and in the Geological and Agricultural Hall for other official interests in the State government.

It would seem that the reasons are sufficient for devoting such a building to the exclusive use of the Education Department. The routine of the Department and the interests for which it stands not only claim a large building but one which stands distinctly for the intellectual activities and the scientific purposes as distinguished from the political contentions and the commercial turmoil of the State. It should not only provide for the convenience of educational administration, but it should also generate intellectual energy; in plan, proportion, and architectural character and ornamentation, it should impress the popular mind with the important place which education holds in the thought and policies of the Empire State.

PROPOSED BILL

Coming to the consideration of a bill which will meet the needs of the situation while it protects the interests of the State, the committee has had the following ends in view: (a) The new building must be architecturally pleasing; (b) It must have much well-lighted space for exacting work and secure accommodations for collections so arranged as to permit of enlargement for the Library and Museum without disturbing the other parts of the building; (c) The State should know what the finished building is to cost before it is commenced, and the cost should be within a reasonable limit, which the committee has fixed at \$3,500,000, exclusive of the site; and (d) The length of time required for construction should also be known in advance, to the end that provision for meeting the expense may be systematically made.

Having these points in mind, the committee has amended the bill of Senator Raines to read as attached hereto, and recommends its passage.

Very respectfully submitted

GEORGE R. MALBY
Chairman

AN ACT

Providing for the acquisition of a site and for the erection of a State Education Building, providing for the State Library, State Museum, and making an appropriation therefor.

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1 The Trustees of Public Buildings are hereby empowered to determine upon a suitable site near the Capitol for a building for the use of the State Education Department, including the State Library, the State Museum of Natural History, and to acquire the same either by condemnation under the power of eminent domain through proceedings instituted by the Attorney General, or by negotiation and agreement with the present owner or owners as to the just value thereof, and also to proceed to the erection of a suitable building thereon for the purposes provided herein.

§ 2 The State Architect under the direction of the Trustees of Public Buildings, a member of the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York to be selected by the Board and the Commissioner of Education, shall prepare floor plans of the building showing in a general way the present requirements of the various departments to be housed therein and so designed as to permit of future additions thereto and providing accommodations for the officers and employees of the Education Department with suitable accommodations for the safe and proper care of the collections of every description belonging to the State Library and the State Museum, suitable rooms for the Board of Regents as well as for an assembly hall.

§ 3 When such plans as provided for in section 2 shall have been prepared, the Trustees of Public Buildings shall give notice by advertisement in at least two and not more than five daily newspapers published in the State that the furnishing of designs, plans and specifications for the construction of such building, which shall be of modern fireproof construction and not to cost in the aggregate more than three million, five hundred thousand dollars, and intended to meet the requirements as indicated in section 2, is open to public competition. Said trustees shall make such rules and regulations governing such competition as in their judgment are necessary.

§ 4 The Trustees of Public Buildings, the designated member of the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York, the Commissioner of Education and the State Architect shall constitute a board to which all plans shall be submitted. No plan shall bear the name or any distinguishing mark of the architect but shall be accompanied with a sealed envelop containing the name and post office address of the architect. Plain and sealed envelops so received shall be numbered in duplicate and in the numerical order in which they are received. The said board shall examine all plans submitted to them and shall select therefrom their first, second and

third choice and so designate by number. When such selection is made the envelop number corresponding to the number of the plans shall be opened and the board shall notify the designer that he has been awarded first, second or third place as the case might be. The plans so selected shall be the absolute property of the State.

§ 5 When such plans and specifications have been made and approved as herein provided, the Trustees of Public Buildings shall advertise in not less than five nor more than ten daily newspapers of the State for tenders from contractors and builders setting forth the terms upon which they will undertake the erection of said building according to said plans and specifications. Said tenders shall be accompanied by such guaranty bond or cash deposit as shall be required by said Trustees of Public Buildings and shall satisfy said trustees that the person, firm, or corporation proposing to erect the whole or some part of said building will enter into contract and complete the work proposed to be done according to the terms of the propositions presented. Said trustees may, in their discretion, call for tenders upon the erection of the whole of said building by one contracting party, or for the performance of different parts of the work by different parties.

§ 6 The said Trustees of Public Buildings shall, on or before January 15, 1907, transmit to the Legislature all plans, specifications and bids for the construction of said building together with such recommendations in the premises as they see fit to make in relation to the construction of said building.

§ 7 The sum of four hundred thousand dollars is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the purchase of the site for said Education Building and for any expenses incidental thereto and also for the awards to be made by said board under the provisions of section 4, which amount shall not exceed in the aggregate twenty thousand dollars, or for any other expenses approved by the Governor. The money shall be paid by the Treasurer upon the warrant of the Comptroller upon the certificate of approval by the Governor.

§ 8 This act shall take effect immediately.

There was delay in the Assembly. No real opposition was presented; all claimed to be for it; but it did not move forward. Time passed until it was the day before final adjournment and still it rested in the rules committee and would not budge. Speaker Wadsworth and other leaders in the house favored it cordially, and the fact that it showed no life seemed as surprising as it was ominous. An earnest appeal to the Speaker finally unearthed the important fact that there was an understanding between the Governor and the Speaker that no extraordinary appropriations should be passed in the Assembly unless the Governor signified his approval, and that approval had been withheld

in the case of this bill. The Commissioner of Education asked for an audience with the Governor, and received word that he was so occupied that it would not be possible that day. But it was that day or never. The Commissioner returned the answer that he wished to see the Governor about the Education Building bill; that it would be no use to see him later; that if the Governor would hear him it would be appreciated; and that if he refused, it would be resented. The Governor then invited the interview at once. The Commissioner opened it by an expression of surprise that the Governor, after all that had been said, was obstructing the passage of the Education Building bill; the Governor said he was not running the Legislature; the Commissioner answered that he was stopping it from running so far as that bill was concerned. The Governor said that he could not assent to that, but was told that the information was direct and convincing. He said "Commissioner, your Department ought to have that building, but it can not be had without scandal, or at least without criticism that will besmirch my administration, and I would like to have the people of the State believe that this administration is an honest one." It revealed the man admirably. It was not only excusable; it was creditable to him. He was even then far from well. He died the following winter, three weeks after the inauguration of his successor, and after risking too much to do his part in the inaugural ceremonies. He had integrity that was never questioned, was wholly familiar with the business of the State, and too jealous of the honor of his administration freely to take initiatory steps which circumstances often made advisable if not necessary. The answer had to be made firmly. It was this: "Governor Higgins, this bill is right. That building is imperatively necessary. The people of New York have a confidence in your integrity and business experience which will make them more disposed to have this thing managed by you than you imagine. It is absurd to say that New York can not do without a scandal what she needs to do, for that admits the breakdown of democratic government. Our experiences with the Capitol should qualify us for doing such a thing as this much better than we otherwise would. In any event, it must be said that if you were to veto this bill as a public duty after you had had it under consideration for thirty days and had heard all that was to be said for or against it, all of us would have to accept your veto in good spirit; but if you knife it in the back and in the

dark you will arouse a bitter resentment of which you will never hear the last." He said "I have nothing to do with the action of the Legislature and will neither help nor hinder this bill in the Assembly." "May I carry that from you to the Speaker?" the Commissioner asked. "Yes," he replied, "say to the Speaker that in spite of all conversations I wish the Assembly to act without any reference to me concerning the Education Building." The committee on rules very soon placed the bill on the calendar for the next and last day, and it passed, with but two opposing votes, after the clock had been turned back so as not to strike the hour of adjournment. The letters and press notices which the Governor received in the next thirty days made it easy for him to sign the bill, and he made it a law on Friday, June 1, 1906.

At the meeting of the Regents on June 28th, Dr Albert Vander Veer was designated as the Regent who should be a member of the Board of Award.

It was the plan of the act providing for the building—an arrangement proposed by the Education Department—that all business and financial phases of the project should be executed by the Trustees of Public Buildings, but that the Department should have much to say about the architectural plans and the interior arrangements of the structure. This seemed satisfactory to all; the Legislature would not be content to hand business matters over to "educators" but was entirely reconciled to let the "educators" work over plans and details, and the "educators" were quite content to avoid responsibility about contracts and very willing to work over architectural plans in hope of having what was wanted when the work was done. So the Trustees of Public Buildings, consisting of the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, and the Speaker of the Assembly, were charged with the determination and acquisition of the site and the making of contracts for the erection of the building. The State Architect, a Regent of the University (Dr Vander Veer) and the Commissioner of Education were required to prepare floor plans for a structure "showing in a general way the present requirements of the various departments to be housed therein and so designed as to permit of future additions thereto and providing accommodations for the officers and employees of the Education Department with suitable accommodations for the safe and proper care of the collections of every description be-

longing to the State Library and the State Museum, suitable rooms for the Board of Regents, as well as for an assembly hall." Upon this basis the trustees were to announce the terms of an architectural competition, the essential features of which had been particularly specified in the act, and the six officers, to be known as the Board of Award, were to determine upon the designs and specifications which were first, second, and third in the order of merit and which should become the property of the State. Then upon the basis of the designs of first merit, but using any desirable features in the others which had become the property of the State, the Trustees of Public Buildings should advertise for tenders, let contracts, and look after their proper execution.

There was no disagreement over the site. All sites north, west, and south of the Capitol were considered. The valuations of each of the neighboring blocks for taxing purposes were obtained and the proportions and shape of a building upon each were discussed. There was much uncertainty for a time. The two blocks bounded by Washington avenue, Hawk and Elk streets and Park place were looked upon very seriously. Taking that site would have involved the building of the Albany Academy to some extent at least, and this fact caused violent protests from many graduates to the one of their number who was the Commissioner of Education. At this juncture Mr Cutler, an architect, came into the Commissioner's office, and with pencil suggested a very rough outline of the front of a long building which might be placed upon the block bounded by Washington avenue, Swan, Hawk and Elk streets, with so much effect that he was asked to amplify it and did so. These rough pencilings made a rather deep impression and are yet preserved. This site was taken and, although it has been much criticized, it is beyond doubt the most desirable site adjacent to the Capitol. The considerations which soon led all the members of the Board to favor it are the extent of ground space, the long front affording opportunity for such magnificent architectural treatment as it has since received, the fact that every room would be an outside room with ample light and air without recourse to interior shafts or courts, additional ground for future extension which already belonged to the State, and in time, with the necessary clearing of the ground in front of it, would make possible the best architectural and landscape effects.

This site has a frontage of 659.6 feet, and a depth on Swan and Hawk streets of 140 feet, with an adjoining parcel of land in the rear 165.87 by 190 feet between the Cathedral of All Saints and the present Capitol boiler house. It was assumed that the boiler house would be removed and, as the State is erecting another across the ravine, that seems assured. Upon this site of approximately 141,110 square feet there were 50 brick buildings, 10 wooden structures, and 4 vacant parcels of land. The valuations for taxing purposes were \$297,500. As soon as the site was decided upon the owners naturally enough began to think that their property was far more valuable when it came to selling to the State than it was as a basis for taxation. Governor Higgins asked the Commissioner of Education to negotiate with the owners and see if the State could not secure some of the 64 properties by agreement, and that was done as to nearly half of them by paying an advance of 25 per cent over the assessable valuation. The others were taken by condemnation. The total cost of the site was \$466,440.75.

The terms of the competition for architectural designs were announced by the Board of Award August 30, 1906. It set forth in detail the spaces and accommodations that would be required and specified the sketches and drawings that must be furnished. Every precaution was taken to secure anonymity in the competition. All architects were admitted to the first competition, and out of all the designs submitted the ten having the most promise were selected and their authors were each paid \$500. The architects presenting the ten most meritorious designs were determined to be as follows:

Allen & Collens, 6 Beacon street, Boston, Mass.

Martin C. Miller & Walter P. R. Pember, Mutual Life Building, Buffalo, N. Y.

Pell & Corbett, 31 Union Square, New York City

George Cary, 184 Delaware avenue, Buffalo, N. Y.

Palmer & Hornbostel, 63 William street, New York City

Wells & Hathaway, 1118 Tremont Building, Boston, Mass.

Hedman & Schoen and Goodwin & Jacoby, 302 Broadway, New York City

J. H. Freedlander, 244 Fifth avenue, New York City

Howells & Stokes, 100 William street, New York City

P. Thornton Marye and Frederic W. Brown & A. Ten Eyck

• Brown, Equitable Building, Atlanta, Ga.

The authors of the ten best designs were then paid \$1000 each for participating in a second competition. They were advised as to further details and were invited to Albany to offer suggestions as to the plans for the final competition. At the end of the final competition the three designs held to have most merit were chosen. The authors of the design held to be third in the order of merit, which we will call the No. 3 design, were Messrs Miller & Pember of Buffalo, N. Y., and they were paid an extra \$1000. The authors of the No. 2 design were Messrs Howells & Stokes of New York City, and they were paid an extra \$2000. The authors of the No. 1 design were Messrs. Palmer & Hornbostel, 63 William street, New York City, and they were given the commission for executing the building. From the beginning to the end of the delicate and complicated procedure there was no complaint made to the Board of Award by any of the parties interested.

Sixty-three designs were submitted in the first competition. Governor Higgins's health was steadily declining and he continually left it to others to look after details and in very large measure to look after the proceedings in general, but he sat with the Board and participated in the elimination of fifty-three designs. Nor was there much difficulty in selecting the best three in the ten in the final competition, but there was a rub when it came to deciding between the best two.

The prospectus for the second competition was issued January 10, 1907. Hon. Charles Evans Hughes became Governor January 1, 1907, and the Board had the benefit of his extended travel, keen purpose to secure the best advantage for the State, and incisive ways of doing things, while it was slowly working its way to a conclusion as to the most desirable architectural design.

The Board of Award consisted in the first instance of the late Hon. Frank W. Higgins, Governor, and Hon. M. Linn Bruce, Lieutenant Governor, who served until the completion of their terms of office; Hon. James W. Wadsworth, jr, Speaker of the Assembly; Dr Andrew S. Draper, Commissioner of Education; the late Hon. George L. Heins, State Architect, who served until his death on September 25, 1907; and Dr Albert Vander Veer, Regent, who was designated by the Board of Regents in accordance with the statute. Hon. Charles E. Hughes, Governor, and Hon. Lewis S. Chanler, Lieutenant Governor, served after taking office on January 1, 1907. Hon. Franklin B. Ware, State Archi-

tect, served after his appointment on October 15, 1907. The Speaker of the Assembly, the Commissioner of Education, and Regent Vander Veer served continuously.

Chapter 578, Laws of 1907, the annual supply bill, made the first actual appropriation for the construction of the building as follows:

For beginning the construction of the new State Education Building pursuant to chapter 678, Laws of 1906, one million five hundred thousand dollars, payable on the certificate of the Governor, of which one hundred thousand dollars shall be available immediately, four hundred thousand dollars on October 1, 1907, and the remainder on March 1, 1908, and from which may also be paid any deficiency in the appropriation made by said chapter for acquiring the site for the building and the expenses incidental thereto. The Trustees of Public Buildings are hereby authorized to enter into contract for the erection and completion of said building, upon terms believed by said trustees to be most advantageous to the State at a total cost of not more than three million five hundred thousand dollars for the building exclusive of the site therefor.

The real contest was between the classical design upon which the building has been executed and one which could hardly be said to represent any established type of architecture but presented what promised to be an exceedingly handsome building for some purposes and which had the advantage of being represented in an exceedingly attractive picture. The State Architect, Mr George L. Heines, supported this No. 2 design. The smoke of a contest with the Commissioner of Education over the architectural designs of the State Normal College buildings which had but recently been settled had not yet cleared. The Speaker sustained the Architect's views. Regent Vander Veer and the Commissioner of Education early espoused the classical building. Lieutenant Governor Chanler refrained from committing himself for a while but in time declared for the classical building. That made three for it out of six, not enough to select it but apparently enough to prevent the selection of any other. That it was enough to prevent the selection of any other design was not as absolutely certain, however, as the simple mathematics might lead one to think, for the Governor had personnel and powers that could pretty nearly defy either simple or complex mathematics. Several meetings were held and the two pictures gazed at and discussed. The Governor was cheerful, but reticent upon the real issue. Once he asked the Commissioner of Education why he did not

like the No. 2 picture: the latter was obliged to admit that it made a pretty picture and that the design might do for some purposes and in some places. In Hughes fashion the Governor said "Glad you admit so much: for what purpose and what place would it do?" It was a hard question but the answer was "Well, Governor, it is residential architecture and it needs a tropical environment. When Hawaii becomes separated from the United States and Liliuokalani regains her throne it might do for a palace for her at Honolulu." The Governor enjoyed the banter and afterward referred to the second design as the "Honolulu Building." It may possibly have weighed as much as a feather upon his final decision.

Nothing was done for six weeks, when the Governor telephoned that he wanted a meeting of the Board in twenty minutes. He had it. Soon he came in, looked at the pictures once more, and asked each member of the Board if he had changed his mind. All the minds stood firm. It was up to his Excellency. He said "Well, gentlemen, it is time we had a show down. This thing ought to be settled. I see that if it is settled I shall have to settle it. I am sorry for that. I feel my incompetency to settle such a matter as this. I am a lawyer and not a judge of architecture. I have seen much of the best architecture of the world and know what I like, but I have never studied architecture with reference to its history and adaptations. I ought not to have to settle this, but it is the American way of doing public business and perhaps it is all right. If I vote for the No. 1 design it will be chosen: if I vote for the No. 2 there will be a deadlock. I would avoid a deadlock if I could properly do so, and I am glad to be able to say that I have come to a confident conclusion which will do it. As time has passed I have become more and more impressed with the possibilities of the classical building; I have found that the weight of competent opinion favors it, and am convinced that it will be safer to vote for it than the other. So the secretary may call the roll and we will record our votes." The result was four to two in favor of the design that has now been executed, and every month of its progress toward completion has given so much evidence of the wisdom of the determination that those who at first doubted have been convinced.

It was May 16, 1907 when the Board of Award announced its final conclusions. The board made some suggestions to the architects in regard to minor changes and one important change

in the front elevation. The important change was that the heavy cornice shown just above the colonnade in the original sketch be carried higher up and almost to the point where it would hide the roof. This was done with good result. But this was by no means the sum of the work done in bringing the plans to perfection after the award had been made. The architects had followed the general directions given them and made provisions for the different divisions of the Department, but the interior arrangement had to be all worked over before the assignments were satisfactory to the interests concerned. This was done by the architects and the officers of the Education Department with a patient attention to detail which has been thoroughly appreciated and well rewarded.

The architectural treatment of this building was decided upon after great study and research. A building of this character must, primarily, be dignified, imposing, and treated in a style which would be sure to retain its charm through all the periodical changes of fashion in styles. The fact that the building is situated upon a street the width of which does not permit its being viewed in front from any considerable distance, and the fact that the building must face the south, largely determined the treatment of the main façade; for, in the first place, a special central motif or pavilion was clearly not called for, and, secondly, advantage must be taken of the full play of direct sunlight. Since this façade must of necessity be viewed for the most part obliquely, it would be essentially happy to employ a colonnade, the effect of which, when looked at obliquely with its strongly vanishing prospective lines, is most impressive, and which, at the same time, makes the most of the interesting possibilities of sunlight and shadow. Considering all these conditions, a huge colonnade, standing well out from a wall pierced by a series of huge semi-circular openings which allow great window area, and produce a secondary architectural effect, was decided upon. In other words, the façade consists of a colonnade, which is the most dignified of architectural motifs, resting on a proper and powerful stylobate; behind the colonnade is an arcade, ample in its proportions and interesting in its repetition. The entire façade is crowned by a huge solid wall or attic which unifies and gives strength to the façade, at the same time expressing the walls of the museum. The end façades are modifications of the front, the columnar treatment being carried across the ends, and the

rear façade recalls, in its treatment, the wall behind the colonnade in front. The entire building is covered by a roof of copper, the eaves of which are decorated by means of a carved *cheneau*. The building is placed 50 feet back of the building line, and the space thus afforded will be treated with lawns, trees, hedges, and, in general, with the elements of landscape architecture. A magnificent flight of easy steps leading to the main entrance at the center of the building. The materials used on the front and end façades are for the most part white marble, terra cotta and dark granite; the latter being used for the stylobate, or base of the building. The rear walls of the building use a light-colored vitreous brick and terra cotta.

The basement contains rooms for service of all kinds, rock-cutting plant for the museum, workshop, janitor's and cleaners' rooms, toilet rooms for the staff and for the public, storage rooms, shipping rooms, a driveway and court for shipping purposes, elevators, ventilating, heating and lighting apparatus, and the lower floors of the great book stack of the library.

At the eastern end of the building beginning in the basement and occupying two stories is the auditorium with a gallery and promenade on three sides. The stage which has an architectural treatment of four huge Corinthian columns forming a curved loggia, is flanked by large niches for pipe organs. The auditorium is lighted by twelve large windows and its decorative treatment is in a modified Greek style.

To explain more in detail the disposition and treatment of the building it will be best to consider the structure from the point of one entering the building by the great flight of steps conducting to the main entrance on the first floor. On entering the vestibule, one finds, directly opposite, the main group of elevators; to the right, a massive and easy staircase leading directly to the second floor rotunda; and to the left, the bureau of information. Under the staircase leading to the second floor rotunda, is the staircase conducting to the basement floor. On the first floor, one passes from the entrance vestibule into a broad, vaulted corridor which runs east and west and leads to exits at both ends of the building. By means of this corridor access is given to the different offices of the Education Department. The Regents' chamber and the rooms of the Commissioner of Education will receive special architectural treatment. The Regents' chamber, which is located in the west pavilion, has walls of

Indiana limestone and a carved beam ceiling of oak. The Commissioner's rooms adjacent to the Regents' chamber on the front of the building are treated in the Tudor style of Gothic with mahogany wainscoting. Other offices on the front to the left of the main entrance accommodate the three Assistant Commissioners and the Administration Division. To the right of the main entrance on the front are the quarters of the Visual Instruction Division. Beginning at the western end in the rear of the building are located the School Libraries Division, the Law Division, general accommodations for stenographers and clerks, the cashier's office, the storekeeper's room, the Inspections Division, the Attendance Division, the Statistics Division, and the supply, filing and mailing rooms. The quarters of the State Examinations Board are to the right of the main entrance in the rear. The wing in the rear on the first floor contains the continuation of the book stacks and at either side the rooms for manuscripts, maps and charts and for cataloging, accessions etc. In addition to the elevators already mentioned opposite the main entrance there are two passenger elevators at the eastern and western ends of the building and one on either side of the rear wing. There are also minor staircases in each instance near these elevators.

On reaching the rotunda on the second floor, already mentioned, several vistas open to view: to the north a great barrel-vaulted corridor 40 feet in width, 46 feet in height and 50 feet in length, leading to the general reference reading room; to the east a shorter vaulted corridor leading to the technical and medical libraries; and to the west a similar corridor leading to the law and sociological libraries. The rotunda, thus located at the intersection of these vaulted corridors, gives a dominating climax to the architectural treatment. Over the rotunda, supported on pendentives, is a circular colonnade. This colonnade in turn supports a dome in which is a large skylight providing direct daylight to the rotunda below. This rotunda and its vaulted corridors are constructed of Indiana limestone. In the rotunda are the following inscriptions: "1784 1854 1904 The University of the State of New York;" "Here shall be gathered the best books of all lands and all ages;" "This library aims to uplift the State and serve every citizen;" "A system of free common schools wherein all the children of this State may be educated." Conveniently arranged between columns, steel cases afford suitable provision

for the most interesting historical exhibits; the rotunda is therefore virtually a historical museum. With its wings, the rotunda measures about 100 feet by 100 feet. The height of the dome above the second floor is 94 feet. Coming now to the disposition of the special libraries (medicine, law, sociological and technical) attention is called to an innovation of a highly practical character. This is the introduction of stack rooms in the center of the building. This arrangement gives the reading rooms the easiest access possible to their respective collections of books. The architectural treatment of these rooms is consistently simple and dignified. The general reference reading room, with its dependencies, occupies practically the entire north wing. It is placed directly above, and in immediate connection with, an immense stack room having a capacity of 2,000,000 volumes. Attention is here called to another innovation: after much study it was decided to place the books in artificially lighted stack rooms, the temperature, humidity and ventilating of which could be absolutely controlled. The architectural treatment of the general reference reading room is at once both novel and bold. It consists of twelve slender bronze columns supporting a series of terra cotta domes. The walls are of stone and the room receives sunlight by means of eleven huge leaded glass windows. The lateral dimensions of this room are 106 feet by 130 feet and the height of the domes is about 50 feet. On this floor, in connection with the rooms already described, are the necessary dependencies: offices of the Director, card catalog room, studies, coat rooms, lavatories etc.

On the third floor are located the offices and workrooms of the Examinations Division, the Educational Extension Division and the Library School. The main reading room of the library already mentioned extends through the third floor.

The fourth floor is devoted entirely to the State Museum and contains the State collections in geology, mineralogy, paleontology, archeology, botany and zoology. These collections will be housed in rooms lighted from above. The principal room on the south side of the building, though subdivided into sections, affords a vista its entire length. It is 570 feet in length, 50 feet in height and 54 feet in width; it is not equaled in open and dignified space by any other museum in the country. These rooms are all given an agreeable architectural treatment. Access is afforded from this main museum to the north wing of the build-

ing; on going to the north wing, one passes the circular colonnade of the rotunda before mentioned; and between the columns a comprehensive view of the rotunda is afforded. The offices of the Director of the museum and his assistants are located on a mezzanine in the rear, adjacent to the exhibition rooms.

Reviewing the plans, as a whole, attention may be called finally to the arrangement of practical details; among these is the location of the driveway court under the north wing of the building which makes the delivery of books easy and direct; the concentration of lavatories and lockers for the service and for the public; the ample provision for mechanical transportation, communication, ventilation, heating and lighting; and the thoroughness with which the construction of the building insures every modern facility for administration and assures every protection against fire.

Such are the principal features of the State Education Building: the effort has been made everywhere to answer practical needs, to conserve space as much as possible, to provide for future expansion and to treat the building in a thoroughly sane and modern spirit alike in its utilitarian and its esthetic aspects.

In the meantime the site was being cleared and the soil tested for stable foundations. The reports from the borings were that there was no quicksand, but these were, to some extent at least, incorrect, for later several sand pockets were found which delayed the foundations and involved considerable unexpected expense. It was May 1908 before the finished plans and specifications could be delivered to contractors who might make tenders for the execution of the work. About thirty invitations to figure upon the work or parts of it were responded to, and on July 10, 1908 the contract for the entire work was let to the R. T. Ford Company of Rochester for the sum of \$3,022,282. The contract price was somewhat lower than had been expected and this obviated the necessity of eliminating any features of the approved plans. The work was actually commenced July 29, 1908, when the first shovelful of cement and the first wheelbarrow loads of broken stone were thrown into the trench. Governor Hughes and the Commissioner of Education attended and with others threw their pennies into the mixture in order to "strengthen the foundations."

While the work was in progress the State provided for and began the erection of a new central heating and lighting station

at the north end of the Hawk Street viaduct. It is expected that this will meet the needs of the Capitol and Education Building together and that it will be in operation by the fall of 1912. It will lead to the removal of the old station and provide the room for the extension of the Education Building when that may be necessary.

By the terms of the contract the work should have been completed by January 1, 1911 and if it had been the collections of the Education Department would have escaped serious injury by the fire which destroyed the west half of the Capitol March 29, 1911. The work of construction often dragged and in the winters before that of 1911-1912 was almost completely interrupted. The issues between the architects and the builders over the methods of doing the work were many and marked by much controversy. The design for the exterior has been exactly executed. Even the floor plans for the interior were so carefully studied at the beginning that the changes which have been necessary in such a monumental structure have been very few. In view of the experience at the New York City Public Library recently erected it was decided to put a composition floor, for the sake of quiet, in all of the main rooms of the State Library; and after the Capitol fire it was decided to install a full equipment of safety vaults in the basement which should be burglar, fire, and dampness proof, for the care of historical documents. On the whole, the work has progressed as satisfactorily as is often experienced in such a large building erected by the State. Speaking of size it may be observed that the space within the Education Building is 11,348,850 cubic feet while that within the Capitol is 14,475,000 cubic feet.

January 1, 1911 Hon. John Alden Dix became Governor, Hon. Thomas F. Conway Lieutenant Governor, and Hon. Daniel D. Frisbie Speaker of the Assembly, and therefore Trustees of Public Buildings in charge of the work. They have worked assiduously to bring the structure to an early and successful completion. Governor Dix has gone over the building occasionally, and sagaciously exercised the great powers of his high office to assure the most satisfactory results. Hon. Edwin A. Merritt, jr, became Speaker of the Assembly with the organization of the Legislature of 1912 and brought to the final stages of the work on the material side the enthusiasm which he had long shown for it as a leader in the lower house.

In 1910 the Legislature consolidated all of the statutes relating to public education in the "Education Law." In view of the progress of the Education Building a section was added (section 27) to the law, providing that "After the completion of the State Education Building it shall be occupied exclusively by the Education Department, including the University, with the State Library, the State Museum, and its other departments, together with other work with which the Commissioner of Education and the Regents have official relations, as they may in their discretion provide for therein."

Having come to the time when provision must be made for furnishing the new building, and having lost the major part of the State Library by fire, the Legislature of 1911 passed the following act:

AN ACT

Providing for the reestablishment of the State Library and making an appropriation therefor, and authorizing contracts for furnishing the Education Building.

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1 The Commissioner of Education is hereby authorized and directed, pursuant to the rules of the Regents of the University of the State of New York, to take such measures, make such contracts and incur such traveling and other expenses, not exceeding in the aggregate the sum of one million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, as may be necessary to reestablish and enlarge the State Library, by gathering suitable books, pamphlets, manuscripts and other materials for the reference library, historical library, education library, law library, medical library, technological library, and the sociological, genealogical and other collections therefor, so as not only to restore the loss and remedy the damages to the State Library and to the State Museum collections therein occasioned by the fire which occurred in the State Capitol on the 29th day of March, 1911, but also so as to create in the course of years a comprehensive State Library which will meet the varied needs of the government and the people of the State of New York. The said Commissioner of Education shall acquire, by purchase or gift, books, pamphlets, manuscripts, records, archives, maps, papers and other documents, and relics and museum collections to replace, so far as possible, and to add to those destroyed or damaged by such fire. He may acquire in like manner such other property as may be necessary for the reestablishment of such library, and whenever practicable may cause such books, manuscripts, pamphlets, records, maps and papers as may have been damaged by such fire to be repaired, rebound or treated in such other way as he may think well. The said books, pamphlets, manuscripts, records,

archives, maps, papers and other documents and property thus gathered shall be placed in and become a part of the New York State Library. The reestablishment of such library and the acquisition of such books, pamphlets, manuscripts, records, archives, maps, papers and other documents and property shall proceed under and be subject to the provisions of the Education Law, and the rules and directions of the Regents of the University of the State of New York, who are the trustees of said library; provided, however, that the Commissioner of Education, in making contracts authorized under this section, shall not make contracts requiring the payment of money in an amount in excess of five hundred thousand dollars, prior to October 1, 1913. The sum of fifty thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, which shall be available immediately, is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the State treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this section.

§ 2 The Commissioner of Education is hereby authorized to enter into contracts for an amount not to exceed in the aggregate the sum of two hundred thousand dollars for such furniture and office fixtures as may be necessary for the State Education Building and the rooms and offices thereof.

§ 3 Nothing in this act shall be construed to create a liability on the part of the State for the payment of any money except as such payment shall be provided for by appropriations made herein or hereafter, pursuant to law.

§ 4 The moneys hereby appropriated shall be expended under the direction of the Commissioner of Education in accordance with the provisions of the Education Law and the rules of the Regents, and shall be paid out on the warrant of the Comptroller in the same manner as other moneys appropriated for the use of the State Education Department.

§ 5 This act shall take effect immediately.

This act became a law on October 24, 1911, by the approval of Governor Dix.

A large part of the furniture of the building will be of metal. The equipment for all the stacks in the Library, as well as all open shelving used throughout the building, will be of steel. Metal filing cases will be used in the main filing room and in all offices where files are found in any quantity. The desks, chairs and tables used in the various offices will be of wood. The furniture for the Regents room, the rotunda, the main reading room in the Library, and the reference library reading room, has been especially designed by the architects to harmonize with the decorative treatment of the rooms themselves.

Not only is the building fire-proof in every detail, but special provision has been made for the safekeeping of manuscripts and

other valuable relics which are in the possession of the Department. A large safety vault, fifteen by forty-three feet, with ample steel boxes and cases, has been built in the basement. Within this there is a smaller vault of special construction which will be used for the safekeeping of the Emancipation Proclamation, Washington's Farewell Address, the André papers, the King Charles II Charter, the Washington relics and other unique papers and relics. With the construction of these vaults every provision has been made to care for the valuable manuscripts and records held by the Department.

There has been installed a special switchboard which gives long distance telephone connection with every division and with the larger offices throughout the Department. There is also an internal intercommunicating system for the various offices, and a teletypograph for all sections of the State Library. These modern and complete methods of intercommunication will greatly facilitate the details of administration.

The ventilating system throughout the building is complete. Large fans for forcing fresh air to all offices are provided in the basement. There is also a complete vacuum cleaning system. These provisions insure the most sanitary and hygienic arrangements throughout the entire building, as well as the most modern equipment.

The mural paintings which are to adorn the grand staircase and the rotunda are to be the work of the well-known artist, Mr Will H. Low. The general title of the paintings is to be "The Aspiration of Man for Intellectual Enlightenment and the Results of its Attainment." There are about thirty-two panels with approximately seventeen hundred and thirty square feet to be decorated. It is the belief of the artist that fifteen of these spaces may contain developed compositions of several figures, that four will permit the use of a single figure, and that the others must be treated by decorative ornament. Without doubt Mr Low will produce a work worthy to remain as a memorial of the Empire State.

Thus the only building erected by any American state or foreign country for the exclusive use of its educational activities, comes to its culmination. It is a culmination as beautiful and magnificent as the conception was honorable and inspiring. And it has been reached without a public scandal and within the cost originally set apart for the great enterprise.

THE NORMAL PROGRESS OF THE UNITED
STATES

THE NORMAL PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES¹

*Mr Toastmaster and Gentlemen of
the University of Vermont:*

I have always looked upon the University of Vermont with something of the same feeling that I do upon old St Andrews, the university that has held up the light of learning for five hundred years upon the rugged coast of Scotland, and I am glad enough to accept the invitation of my friend and pastor, Reverend Doctor Hopkins, to break bread with the loyal sons of such an honorable institution. One makes a mistake when he undertakes to speak upon a subject with which he is not very intimate, to those who are a part of it and know all about it. Therefore I can not take your university for my theme. But I have a theme I want to talk about and as you are the first company of college men to whom I have been called upon to speak since I have wanted to talk about it you are destined to be the victims.

My friend Chancellor Day, of Syracuse University, made a speech here in Albany the other evening. It was made to a seasoned lot of college men who enjoyed it, in college fashion, whether they accepted it or not. It was quickened with patriotic earnestness, graced with imagination, and energized with good oratory. I think its premise unfounded and its logic fallacious; and as my friend is not an intellectual defective, nor a *femme sole*, and does not need a *guardian ad litem* in any court, I am going to make free to say something about it.

I would, if I could, repeat all of that speech to you, but if I did I should have no time for a word of my own. In brief and in general, the Chancellor said he had been around the world without seeing an American flag on any boat save one limping craft which did not represent his country. He did not like it. The genius which built our railroads, opened our mines, and attended to all our large business interests was being annihilated by small men and cruel laws. His concrete illustration was the growth and the difficulties of that helpless child of the State, the New York Central Railroad. He could remember when one had to take a half dozen poor trains and recheck trunks as many times,

¹Address at the dinner at the University of Vermont Alumni, Albany, January 31, 1912.

go hungry, pay large fares, and spend two days going from New York to Buffalo. Now he removes his hat to the Empire State Express. He thought it too bad that such splendid enterprise should be hampered by people who have no initiative and not much referendum. He was opposed to putting down genius and destroying big business. He was not a pessimist; he still had hopes for the country; but things looked badly to him and he had the courage to say so. He called upon the spirits of the great to return. He wanted the ship of state to put to sea; to have good winds and open water; to be commanded by a real captain; and to fly plenty of flags that are bright with color and full of stars.

Now, that is not what I see at all. My friend must be looking into the wrong end of the telescope, or into one pointed at some other country or some other sphere. My glass shows a hundred millions of people among whom intelligence is almost universal and genius widely diffused; making no obeisance to mere might in any form; conserving their material and moral and political estates; grappling with the newest and the largest social and economic questions; and developing a world of human kinship, and human justice, and human opportunity, and of even-handed human progress of which the freest imagination in all literature never dreamed.

It is true that we have not much of a merchant marine. What we once had was destroyed by the Confederate cruisers in the Civil War. I happen to know about that for I had to hear the testimony. When it happened, our relations with England and her dependencies were strained, the whale fisheries were giving out, and we were not buying heavily of China silks. We had little spare money and there was little to induce putting it into vessels of the sea. Both our imports and our exports were few. Other nations built up a carrying trade by subsidies, to which more than half our people seem to be conscientiously opposed. Without knowing any too much about it, I think I would have put less money into battleships and more into ships that would carry people and mails and goods to and from the other nations of the world. But there is nothing significant or ominous about it. One may often get along more economically or use his money to more advantage by living in a hired house. Both our exports and imports were larger last year than in any other year in our history; and larger in the last five years, and in the last ten years, than in any other five or ten years since we became a nation. I too have been in foreign harbors and cities, and never without seeing our

flag in all her glory. No other nation is ignorant of the United States. There is not another people in the world who are not looking longingly beyond what Kipling calls the "salted seas" to what Ambassador Reid calls "the greatest fact in modern history"—the great new nation of the world.

Now, as to our hobbling genius, let us take the same illustration that Chancellor Day does—the New York Central Railroad. We all admire the business thrift that bound a half dozen short roads together, that laid more tracks and built greater engines, and developed better and faster trains. But how can one ignore the methods that were employed, or shut his eyes to what would have been if New York State had not "put restraints upon enterprise!" That road overreached the people with the very power it got from them. It misled and corrupted legislatures to circumvent restraints and get more power. By maneuvering rates of transportation and issuing new securities, it robbed its own patrons. By organizations within organizations its directors filched their own stockholders. It employed the ablest lawyers, manipulated jury lists, influenced jurors, and even reached after judgeships to strengthen its hands and defeat all claims made upon it. It engaged in politics all along its lines, aiding the men in all parties who would respond to its demands. There was no golden rule in its vocabulary, and it was before law had anticipated such a power and such a danger. Happily that is largely if not wholly in the past. If the thing had gone on we would have shown our incapacity for government and the State of New York would have become the State of the New York Central.

But this railroad was not content with uniting short roads in a continuous line from New York to Buffalo; it was bent upon connecting great links in through lines from New York and Boston to St Louis, Kansas City or San Francisco. Other great roads had the same ambitions. They even had some thought of getting together and taking possession of the country. When one state tried to deal with them they would step over the line into another state that was unprepared for them, and their astute lawyers would raise legal questions enough to paralyze the state courts and legislatures. Congress and the Federal courts had to unite with the states in dealing with the subject; and it was one without precedent and of profound difficulty.

Law-making always seems difficult except to those who know nothing about it. It is somewhat difficult to those who know

something about it, and particularly difficult to those who know most about it. There was never more difficulty in making laws, than in making laws which will sustain the rights of the people, secure good service, and assure fair profits to honest investors in the public utilities. It has taken a long time to get started at this problem and will take a long time to finish it. Probably it will never be completed. Mistakes may have been made and likely others will be made. When they become evident they will in time be corrected. But the work progresses with a disposition to be just and a determination to be successful. The progress does credit to the people and proves the worth of popular government.

The leading railroad officials are glad because they do not have to engage in the miserable business that was once expected of them. The railroad business has become respectable. The public is being better served. Individual rights are more regarded. Claims are more honestly adjusted. Securities are safer. A moral rather than an immoral influence flows from the new situation. It educates the mass in moral sense and in respect for law, to know that democracy can deal as justly and as effectually with railroads owned by individual stockholders as monarchy manages the royal roads of other lands. There is satisfaction and hope, promise and patriotism in it.

The same thing is going on as to gas and electric light, and telephone and telegraph, and trolley, and all public service corporations. It is going on, too, as to the men who have thought of taking possession of the world supply of commodities which the whole world needs. There is nothing more difficult in law-making than in so arranging that the combined power shall not be used for private advantage but only for the common good, and without thwarting genius and discouraging enterprise. In a democracy with such a domain, such resources, such consummate ingenuity, energy and ambition as we have in the United States, it is a matter which claims and is having the transcendent genius of the country. Nothing more heartening was done at Runnymede, or at old Independence Hall, or at Saratoga, or at Gettysburg and Appomattox.

The people, particularly the youth, ought not to be confused by the necessities of men who have to make midnight speeches after too hearty meals. Philosophers and guides and orators must turn their telescopes so as to get a near-to rather than a far-away look at the American ship of state. She is not tied up; she is not falling apart. She is running fast enough, in an open sea, before a

fair wind, with plenty of canvas and no lack of coal. She is not even rolling; there is no danger of her turning turtle. The lights are those of our churches, and schools, and universities. The charts have grown out of a thousand years' experience in a world-wide struggle for the rights of man. The flags are right side up. The ship runs into a bit of a breeze and into a fog now and then; but the captains and the mates are experienced skippers in political seas. The sailors scrap once in a while, as all good sailors do, but there is not one of them who would not fight for the ship. The passengers are cheerful, and tolerant, and expectant, capable of making the rules that are needed, and ready to be restrained by them. Of course there are a few excited people wanting something and talking much, but even they do not feel as badly as they pretend. The good ship is a sight for the whole world to behold and fortunate are the people who journey in her. She is the staunchest vessel, with the surest charts, the finest lights, the fullest larder, the fairest company, and upon the noblest mission, that ever traversed any sea.

RURAL SUPERVISION IN NEW YORK

RURAL SUPERVISION IN NEW YORK¹

With the beginning of 1912 a new and rather radical scheme for the supervision of the rural schools, that is all schools outside of the cities and the villages of five thousand inhabitants, went into operation in the State of New York. The controlling idea of this new plan of rural supervision is that it is time for the "rural school problem" to be dissolved in the proposition that the country schools are to be organized and supervised as completely as the city schools. I am glad to respond to the request of the Educational Review that I shall say something about the features of this plan.

First, it is well to say a word about the alleged plan which it has supplanted. The Legislature of 1812 passed an act (*a*) creating the office of State Superintendent of Common Schools; (*b*) providing for the election of three town commissioners in each town at the annual town meeting, whose duty it should be to have charge of the State school moneys apportioned to the town, to divide the town into separate school districts so as to accommodate all the families as well as might be, and generally to represent the State in looking after the school interests of the town; (*c*) providing for the election at each town meeting of not to exceed six other persons who with the town commissioners should constitute a board of town school inspectors, who were required to examine and license teachers, inspect the schools, and report to the local trustees on the proficiency of the schools; and (*d*) providing for the election of school trustees at the district meeting in each district, who were required to build and maintain the schoolhouse and employ the teacher.

The essential provisions and the thought of this act have continued in operation without interruption for an even hundred years. The titles of the supervising officers and the units of territory they supervised were changed several times because of dissatisfaction with something done, or because it was thought some reform might be effected, or because a political party gained the power to put some of its opponents out and some of its partisans in by means of a reorganization; but the idea that the rural schools should be looked after by lay rather than professional officers, who were not required to possess, and were often

¹Written for the Educational Review and published in the February 1912 number.

actually without, any substantial qualifications for supervising the teaching in the schools, has been in operation for a century. They exercised in a general way the authority of the State over the schools of a town, a county, or half of a county; they were chosen on political tickets at general elections; they were very dependent upon politics, and many of them became wheels in the political machinery of the State.

Of course this gave the old plan a hard and fast hold upon the common thought of the people. To be sure, many excellent officers were chosen, and some without much fitness at the beginning became measurably efficient; but aspiration for the places was not limited by fitness; parties regarded the places not only as legitimate political plunder, but made the tenure of the men who held them contingent upon subordination to party leaders and activity in the party organization. The scheme worked very well indeed for many years, and was doubtless the only one possible in the early days when there was no such thing as professional school supervision either in city or country, and before politics had developed so many masterful artists; but it came to work very badly as school supervision became more and more an exact science and more and more was demanded of the schools. Even that did not make its dislodgement easy so long as patriots wanted places and the political captains in the county committees and the legislatures needed lieutenants, and so long as it was not difficult to make many people believe that their "rights" to elect their own officers would be outraged if the law limited the selection of school superintendents to those who could supervise schools, or provided for appointing school experts in some other way than by means of a caucus and a general election. When a bill providing a better way was prepared and introduced in the Legislature by the State Education Department, it could hardly muster enough support to maintain the respectability of the Department. But we said we would take our time for pushing the matter to a conclusion, and began a systematic appeal to the public opinion of the State. In particular an aggressive agitation was waged in the educational and agricultural organizations. Honest objections were answered patiently. Subtle ones were exposed. Once more the advantage of going directly to the people with a good cause was demonstrated. It required more courage to be against the measure in the Legislature of 1910 than to be for it in the Legislature of 1905. In 1910 it became a law, and went into complete operation at the beginning of 1912.

The essential features of this law may be set forth as follows:

1 It practically doubles the number of rural supervisory districts, thus making districts small enough to permit of frequent visits to all schools and frequent meetings of teachers for instruction and conference without their being away from home over night.

2 It creates a board of school directors in each supervisory district, consisting of two members from each town, chosen at the general election, whose sole and only duty is to appoint a superintendent of schools. The tenure of the superintendent is five years, and he has a salary of \$1200 paid by the State and also has his expenses up to \$300 audited and paid by the State. The salary and the maximum of expenses may be increased by the towns in the supervisory district through the action of the town supervisors. The manner of appointing the superintendent was the most difficult feature of the whole matter. Many methods were considered and this one finally chosen because it harmonizes with the method of appointment in the cities, and it was thought that, in view of the fact that it centralizes responsibility in a board which has no other power, would go quite as far as any other method could to remove the appointment from the influence of politics and give the superintendent needed independence.

3 The board may appoint the superintendent only from the eligibles approved by the State Education Department. To be eligible one must hold a certificate of the State Department conferring the right to teach for life in any school in the State, when employed, without further examination, and must pass an examination, held by the Commissioner of Education, in the teaching of agriculture. This provision about the agricultural examination was not in the bill as originally prepared; it was inserted on motion of a member when the measure was under consideration in the lower house; but as it was surely harmless and possibly helpful, no effort was made to repeal or eliminate it. The school directors to the number of about 1800 were chosen at the general election in November 1910. The people were urged to choose two good men in each town without regard to partisanship. This was generally regarded; in some cases each of the leading parties named one man. Immediately after their election the directors were asked by the Commissioner of Education to rise above all partisanship, to refrain from committing themselves to any candidate until after full consideration of all possible candidates by the board, and if necessary to repel candidates and look far for the

best superintendent they could find for their district. The law required the boards to meet, but only for organization and discussion, on the third Tuesday of May 1911, and to meet for the appointment of a superintendent on the third Tuesday of August 1911. The terms of office of the district superintendents chosen in August last will expire July 13, 1916. Their terms are made to expire at the end of a school year; thereafter the regular term of all district superintendents will begin August 1st, which is the beginning of a school year. District superintendents will be chosen on the third Tuesday in June in 1916, and thereafter every five years. Members of the boards of school directors will be chosen in succeeding years. Nearly all boards appointed superintendents without friction on the day named in the law. A few boards could not agree at once and adjourned to a later day, but have since made appointments. Opposition to the system has practically disappeared. All are now disposed to give it a thorough trial. Candidates rustled around a good deal to secure support. One who tried and failed to qualify decided that the law invaded the Constitutions of both the State and Nation, but up to date the court has disagreed with him. On the whole, the appointments of superintendents have gone very smoothly. There are 207 supervisory districts. Of the 206 superintendents appointed at this writing, 62 are college graduates, 92 are graduates of State normal schools, 35 hold state life certificates, and 28 hold teachers permanent certificates. All have had pedagogical training and teaching experience.

4 The Education Law provides:

Section 394. District superintendents not to engage in other business. A district superintendent of schools shall devote his whole time to the performance of the duties of his office and shall not engage in any other occupation or profession. Such time as shall not necessarily be devoted by a district superintendent of schools to the performance of the clerical and administrative work of his office shall be devoted to the visitation and inspection of the schools maintained in his supervisory district.

The law is very explicit in the powers which it confers and the limitations which it places upon the superintendents. They are also subject to the rules and directions of the Commissioner of Education and are removable by him for immoral conduct, incompetency, or neglect of duty. As the directors may fill a vacancy at once, there is less objection to creating one than when election was by the people. The superintendents have the power to re-

form and reorganize the school system in all the rural parts of the State. They may require hygienic and properly equipped schoolhouses. They may condemn schoolhouses and outbuildings and require others to be built. If they do not abate nuisances, they may be abated as nuisances themselves. They may require additional furnishings, and see that whatever a school needs is provided. They are to travel about among the schools continually, looking after the program and the morale and the teaching. They are to hold conferences of teachers by towns, or two towns, as may be convenient. They are to have similar conferences with trustees. They are to get the people of the different districts together now and then and agitate for better schoolhouses and more attractive grounds, for better wages, better teaching, and more attractive and efficient schools. They are to do all that a city superintendent may do, and possibly more than he can do, to make the schools of their districts uniformly excellent. They have full authority to do this, and they will not be allowed to neglect the very important business that has been committed to them. They have been commissioned to lead the educational work of their districts and they must execute their commissions.

This may seem like strong language. Some people require strong language. It is better not to have to use it, but a great undertaking can not be allowed to fail, or partially fail, because of dearth of determination or lack of strong language. The district superintendents have been supplied with blanks calling for information concerning every interest of the schools, and will be required to make a detailed report to the Third Assistant Commissioner of Education, at the close of every week, of their work on each day of the preceding week, to the end that no interest of any school shall be overlooked.

Of course, the new system is to be on trial. The superintendents are on trial. So are the State Education Department and the Commissioner of Education. All intend to make good. With modern means of getting about and the present-day facilities for communication, there is no need of assuming that the "country school problem" is an insoluble thing. If the states will put state money, and state authority, and the experience of their educational leaders into the business, there may be just as good schools in the country as in the city, and perhaps even a little better. And when there are it will make farms more valuable, farmers more prosperous and happier, and states stronger.

CITY SCHOOLS ENTITLED TO A GOVERNMENT
OF THEIR OWN

CITY SCHOOLS ENTITLED TO A GOVERNMENT OF THEIR OWN¹

Albany, February 5, 1912

Editor, Union and Advertiser

Rochester, N. Y.

DEAR SIR:

The inclosed editorial note from your paper, copied in the Albany Knickerbocker-Press, concerning the recommendation of my latest annual report that the statutes relating to schools in cities be transferred from the city charters to the Education Law, is so fair that I am impelled to depart from my ordinary custom and say that it seems to me that the recommendation does not make itself clear to you.

The question whether it is well "to transfer control of city school systems to the State" is not involved in the recommendation. The proposition that the State should take control of the schools as it has taken control of the penal, reformatory, and charitable institutions, would surely be absurd. How much popular and how much professional control, how much local and how much State control, there shall be over the schools may well be determined by resulting efficiency, and as to that experience must be the guide. Where popular sentiment is keen and rational about the schools, not much outside control is desirable and of course it is necessary to pursue the policies which will quicken and guide popular sentiment. Where the sentiment is not keen and where the condition of the schools is low, the State is not only bound to intervene and execute the mandate of the Constitution that "the Legislature shall provide for the maintenance and support of a system of free common schools, wherein all the children of the State may be educated," but I suppose everybody would agree that it is the business of the State to make the entire educational system of the State as strong and efficient as practicable. And probably no one would dissent from the proposition that where the money of the State goes, there its authority must go, and that State leadership may well be as extensive and forceful as may be necessary to buildup interests that are common to all the people.

¹Letters addressed to a Rochester newspaper, and reprints of articles printed in said paper, upon the control of city school systems.

But that is not the immediate question and I speak of it only because you refer to it. My recommendation neither involves nor contemplates any changes in the law except, of course, as future experience may make advisable. It proposes only that the school statutes relating to the cities shall be taken, just as they are, from the city charters and incorporated in the State Education Law. The educational system is a state-wide, a universal system. It has nothing in common with the diversified plans and methods of municipal government. Cities are only large school districts, the people of which are entitled to regulate their own school affairs without submitting them to city officers and councils, at least so long as they do not break down the system of education which the State is required to maintain.

It has been completely established that school officers in cities are not, in law, city officers. Manifestly it is not to the interest of the schools to be mixed up with city politics. Then why should the people of a city have to procure an amendment to the city charter every time they want to improve their schools and why should the school laws relating to a city be all stirred up whenever the charter is revised?

My point is that the schools of all the cities would be upon a surer footing and educational progress would be more likely, if when the schools needed a change in their law they did not have to come in conflict with the men who think most about city charters, and if the men whose functions are to shape the charters did not feel free to make sweeping changes in the school laws whenever they found it well to make changes in the charters. There is nothing revolutionary about it: it is only moving in the direction of further separating the common schools from all partisanship. There is no purpose to urge it before there is ample time for popular consideration. But I suspect that it will come after a time, as other things do when they are right.

Thanking you very much for your spirit of fairness concerning a suggestion which has not appealed to you, I am

Very sincerely yours

A. S. DRAPER

Commissioner of Education

From the Union and Advertiser, Rochester, February 9, 1912:

Doctor Draper's position on the school system

In another column on this page will be found a communication from State Commissioner of Education Andrew S. Draper, commenting upon a paragraph in an editorial in this paper concerning his annual report. The paragraph referred to is as follows:

Doctor Draper's proposal to transfer control of city school systems to the State is too big to be settled within a few months or years. It involves such changes that it is sure to arouse great opposition. The benefits to be derived from such a move are many, but it is doubtful that the cities will willingly relinquish control of their schools. This is the first formal proposal of a change that has had but little general discussion. It is a matter to be settled by the people and their advisers, the educators. If the latter are able to persuade the former that it will be to the benefit of the schools to give them over to the control of the State, well and good, the change will be made. But whatever the advantages of such a school system, we are of opinion that they are not sufficient to overcome very soon the satisfaction of the people with the present condition of things.

Doctor Draper's complimentary references to the fairness of The Union and Advertiser are highly appreciated. It is pleasing to know that our fairness is seen, even where we may have been mistaken as to the meaning of a proposition which we did not accept as valid. We are, however, not entirely at fault in mistaking Doctor Draper's proposal to transfer the laws controlling the government of city school systems from the city charters to the State Education Law as a proposal to transfer the control of the schools from the cities to the State. Our error, if there be any on our part, arises from the language of the summary or abstract, as it is called, of the report of the Education Department to the Legislature. This summary is official and upon the subject under discussion quotes as follows: "The law regulating the local control and management of the schools of the several cities of the State should be taken out of the city charters and should be incorporated in the Education Law." This is declared in the summary to be the language of the report itself. It will be seen that the word "control" is used in the report and that we therefore may be pardoned if we assumed that Doctor Draper meant that the State should under his proposal control the schools.

But let us consider these words as they stand. If "the law regulating the local control and management" of the city schools does control them when this law is in the city charter, why will it fail to control them when it is transferred to the Education Law? And if the Education Law is part of the State law, why, then, does not the State, with this law taken from the city charters and incorporated into the Education Law, control the schools? The next sentence in Doctor Draper's report says: "This action may be taken without confusion and without decreasing in the slightest the powers now conferred upon local superintendents or boards of education." Surely, if the city education law is transferred to the State

Education Law, the provision giving the powers mentioned will remain there. But they will be a part of the State law and they can not then be changed by any power but the Legislature. We do not think that Doctor Draper will say that a board of education has power to change a State law. It seems, therefore, that the control by the city school authorities will be present only so long as the State does not change that part of the Education Law which was formerly part of the city charter, that it will extend only to the bounds set by the city law as it stood when it was transferred, and that it will stop at the point where the city school authorities would change the law regarding their schools.

It will be seen from the foregoing that we had good ground for believing that Doctor Draper meant that the State should control the schools. If he does not mean this, the language of his report does not clearly indicate it. We confess that his letter has not made itself entirely clear to us, even after some days of consideration. We have not tried here to justify our position merely for the sake of contention, but to show that we did not assume it without good ground. Doctor Draper seems in his letter of explanation to intend his proposition to mean that the city should become a school district, as portions of the rural regions are school districts, and probably intends that the State control of the schools should be that which the State has over the schools in a rural school district. Whether this would be desirable or acceptable is, of course, debatable and would require more discussion than could be well appended to this comment upon Doctor Draper's courteous letter.

Albany, February 17, 1912

*Editor, Union and Advertiser
Rochester, N. Y.*

DEAR SIR:

I have your editorial comments upon my letter concerning the proposition to transfer education statutes from the city charters to the Education Law.

You seem to think — and this is why I venture to write again — that this transfer of school laws from the charters to the Education Law would in some hidden way change the substance of the statutes or shift the control of the schools from local to State officers. Let me assure you that there is nothing whatever in that. The school laws, in whatever form or connection, can be made or changed only by the Legislature. Moreover, no one wishes such changes. Everybody knows, or ought to know, that the more intelligent a community is, and the more aggressive it is about having the best schools, the more the state educational officials are gratified. And no one can doubt that the more local energy there is about schools, the better the schools will be. State oversight may aid local interest where it is weak or ill-advised,

but it would be absurd to try to substitute State for local management in popular education. No community having really high grade schools ever complains about State interference, for the double reason that the State does not interfere in such communities, and they are not jealous of State aid or criticism but glad to have them. It is the community with low grade schools that is disturbed by that oversight which both the laws and sound policy require the State to extend over it.

My contention is that the management of the schools of a city is no proper or legal function of a city government; that a city government is not vested with this function and is not chosen with reference to it; that such management is vested in an organization specially provided for and chosen for the purpose; that the schools of all the cities constitute a part of that State system of education which the Constitution enjoins and which all the people cherish; and that therefore all the statutes relating to schools may more properly be incorporated in the State Education Law than in the city charters.

My reason for urging that this be done is more than abstract or academic: it is that the schools may be separated as far as possible from municipal politics; that it may not be easy for those who think most about the charters and municipal affairs to revise the school laws whenever the charters are revised; and that the school laws may be modified when necessary without arousing those who think of city business more than of schools.

The territory of every city is, in legal and administrative contemplation, only a big school district. The people in the country school districts do not have less but more control over their schools than the people in a big city. Do not misunderstand what I am urging. I am for *the people* of a city having all the control over the schools in their city that their intelligence and patriotism will dispose them to exercise. The only consideration to be regarded is the uniform efficiency of the State system of education. That will be highest where the people are intelligent enough and concerned enough about their schools to pay sharp and rational attention to them. The real troubles in cities grow out of the fact that the people are indifferent or are so numerous that they can not meet together and settle school policies and choose school officers. But they should come as near managing school matters as they can, and all the schools should constitute a part of the State system of education and be managed by both State and local representatives of

the people chosen for that particular purpose. In no event should the schools be left to the control of city officers and councils who have no special knowledge of the intricacies of school administration and who are not chosen with reference to that duty.

Very sincerely yours

A. S. DRAPER

Commissioner of Education

ANCIENT VERSUS MODERN LEARNING IN
FREE SCHOOLS

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ANCIENT VERSUS MODERN LEARNING IN FREE SCHOOLS¹

Mr Toastmaster:

It is a greater pleasure than you may think to break bread and mix observations with the alumni of Colgate University, because your university was the first to confer upon me an honorary degree. It was a surprise indeed, and I can not help thinking that it must have required courage, twenty-three years ago, to hang your reputation for caution upon so uncertain a shoot.

I have been delighted by the remarks of President Bryan. I knew he could talk well, but it is a satisfaction to hear him tell so confidently of the prosperity and the outlook of Colgate University. To confess to you the truth, I have come to be apprehensive when up-state college presidents come to Albany and make midnight speeches after late dinners. This winter they have been violating the rules of the game and saying amusing things in serious ways, rather than serious things in amusing ways. Your great neighbor of Syracuse University did so recently, and the other evening the scholarly president of Hamilton College, your "dearest foe," as Governor Hughes would say, did the same thing. Some of the very great brethren need the fraternal admonition of the guild.

President Stryker never goes around the corner to say things. Bluntness is his long suit, whatever that may mean. He gives no quarter in discussion. He loves intellectual combat. Then he must have a "combatee." So he invents one. He exemplifies his contention that Grecian learning is the fruitful mother of imagination. His imagination creates adversaries so that his gladiatorial arm may hammer Grecian culture into them. But if he gives no quarter, neither does he ask any. And so when he says for the twentieth time that "the heavy hand of educational authority in this State is set against the classical studies," he will be glad to see a hat in the ring and may at least appreciate the courage that throws it there.

There can be no such thing as the heavy hand of educational authority turned against the classical studies. It wouldn't be heavy; it wouldn't have authority. It would be like Lincoln's steamboat with a big whistle and a little boiler, that couldn't

¹ Remarks at Colgate University dinner, at the Hampton Hotel, Albany, March 15, 1912.

whistle when it ran and couldn't run when it whistled. The hand of all authority in America is heavy or light as it is supported by public sentiment. The hand of educational leadership is heavy or light as it is upheld by educational opinion. There is no opinion so unfettered as educational opinion. It is so jealous of its freedom that it sometimes goes astray. But it never supports authority that does not seek aid from all the learning of the world. It resents any exclusion of any knowledge. It would ridicule any pretended educational authority that did not recognize the influence of the ancient tongues upon modern speech, and did not lay hold of whatever there was in ancient civilizations that might enrich the civilizations that are or are to be.

All of us have pride in the college that has held aloft the lights of classical learning in Central New York for an hundred years. And while it is a little hard to have our minds distracted by the implication that we can not think very straight or speak very well, because we do not do it in Greek, when we are trying to think of nice things to say at the centennial celebration at Hamilton next summer, still we shall think as best we can and speak with genuine feeling when we present our felicitations to a college that has trained so many great teachers, and preachers, and leaders of men, and that seems content to hold to the plan and the faith by which it has done it.

There is room enough for such a college among all the educational institutions of this State. It is only a question as to whether those who love her most think that it is good college policy to adhere to. If they do, I shall be rather glad of it, and whether they do or not there is no one who will not wish them well. But whatever they do, no authoritative hand is against the ancient languages in that or any other school of the State. All students who want them must have them; all professions or vocations that really need them must be urged to have them; and they must be distinctly encouraged for their historical, cultural, and disciplinary value, by those who would give balance and finish to education.

But it had better be said, and with all plainness, that our civilization is no longer in Greece, or Rome, or Gaul, or even Britain; that we are not living in the first, the tenth, or the eighteenth century; that the streams of learning are now gathering in many high places, trickling down many mountain sides, making mighty rivers and boundless seas, and sending back their distilled dews to irrigate and fructify the intelligence of the whole world. We are

in a free country where men and women have everything to study and are going to study what they please. It is the business of State educational authority to try to provide them with whatever branches of study they will accept and with whatever educational helps will uplift the vocations which they are to follow. The State may aid but not force their choice. Our education unfolds rather rationally. There is a higher law about it than any laid down in resolutions of faculties and educational conventions. The thing will work its way out if all kinds of work have an even chance. The State of New York represents so many people and so many interests that it is not free to do what a college on the hill at Clinton may do by itself. The State must recognize the diversity of learning, the differing situations, the equal rights of all learning and of all people. Of course it must encourage any study that cultures people, and certainly any study that helps people to think accurately, as the study of the classics undoubtedly does; but quite as clearly it must encourage study that leads people to work skilfully with their hands; and quite as certainly it must abstain from destroying the necessary balance between the employments of the people, from making misfits in life work, and from lessening the productivity and upsetting the equilibrium of the State itself.

A Greek scholar and particularly a teacher of Greek, like every other scholar or teacher, is likely to be obsessed by the subject in which he is expert. That is his purpose and business in life. The State encourages him to make the most of his subject, but the State can not be obsessed by his subject because he is. Greek is entitled to no exclusive privileges in American education. It is a liberal education to be an accomplished Greek scholar, but one no longer has to be a Greek scholar to possess a liberal education. In a rapid rise followed by a hardly less rapid decline, the old Greeks made their little land a veritable storehouse of art. Their coins, pottery, sculpture, and structures illustrate an amazing, if narrow, intellectual development. But what other large gifts have they made to our modern intellectual estate?

Has it been in literature, or philosophy, or oratory? Not broadly so; a few good specimens, but only a few, have been valued highly, and with justice. Has it been in science? No; their savants knew less of chemistry, and of physics, and of the heavenly bodies, than do the children in our schools. Has it been in music? No. Has it been in the drama? Not strongly; we have adopted a

few plots but there has been much to forget. Has it been in words they have added to our English speech? Some will claim it, but the Saxon and Norman trunk is bigger and stronger and nobler than the classical sprigs that have been grafted upon it. Has it been in ennobling sports, in manly heroisms for human rights? Not overwhelmingly. Has it been in exploration and expansion? No, they were not navigators, and when they expanded a little they could not hold on. Did they inspire religious progress? They worshipped idols; their religion, if it may be called a religion, was mere superstitious mysticism: it even now degrades great empires. Look at Russia even now only half emancipated from the idolatry of the ancient Greeks. When Paul, in the midst of all the altars they had set up to hideous and brutal gods upon Mars hill, found one which they had erected to an "unknown god" in order to placate some monster they had not yet discovered, and declared him unto the Athenians, he announced a religion that has done more for intellectual as well as moral progress than any of those old Greeks, with all their superstition and imagination, were ever able to think of. Has it been in statecraft, in upbuilding self-government, in enlarging political freedom in the world? No, one-fifth of them owned the other four-fifths; they had no grasp upon liberty and their "republics" were nothing but a name; the people who lived in the forests and upon the waters of the far away northlands and compounded a new nation in Britain a thousand years later and a thousand years ago, and then another new nation in America in modern times, opened the highways of political self-government and of human and social progress without any help from the peoples, even though they had more polite accomplishments, who before the dawn of the Christian era dwelt upon the shores of the blue Mediterranean sea.

Modern civilization owes more to the Romans than to the Greeks. They were travelers and they left landmarks, but the fact remains that the ideals of the best of them and the military power of all of them had to be overthrown before the road was open for the advance of modern freedom and intelligence.

In these days of prolific scholarship and of much publication there is, moreover, no such ignorance of the ancients as classical scholars very commonly assume. There is no such paralysis of thinking and of expression among those who are educated in the modern tongues alone, as classical experts seem to think that they perceive. Nor is there such exclusive disciplinary value in Greek

and Latin over more modern phases of serious study, as a few would have us think. It is saying nothing against classical scholarship to declare that the world has reached a stage of intellectual productivity when familiarity with ancient tongues — to say nothing of a slight acquaintance soon forgotten — is no longer the sum of all culture or the substance of all scholarship.

The ancient world was all on the shores of the Mediterranean: it was imprisoned, very ignorant, and withal very content. The modern world knows no geographical limits and it is free, aspiring, and potential. Christianity has worked the change. One may hesitate about some of the beliefs of its disciples, but no one with a true heart can dissent from its spirit, and no one with an intelligent mind can deny its results. It broke its way over Europe and penetrated Asia. It was a thing of faith and therefore aggressive and unyielding. It forced revolutions and reformations and it started crusades and migrations. It discovered America. It established new nations, freer forms of government, and larger human opportunity, in the Old World and the New. That in turn opened the roads for all phases of intellectual progress. Those roads have been and are being well traveled. There is now a red, white and blue flag at each of the extremities of the earth. Three years ago a daring American sailor planted the flag of freedom and of opportunity at the north pole. Three months ago a gallant son of the Vikings planted the beautiful flag of Norway with the Christian's cross upon it at the south pole. The physical world has been conquered: now it will be studied. Modern schools have made astounding discoveries in the occult sciences which only show how little the secrets of that world are known; those secrets are going to be intensively studied. The knowledge so obtained is going to be applied to the convenience which will further uplift the life of the people: that exacts study. The worlds of thought and feeling are to be much further explored; literature and philosophy are yet to have a more perfect flower and a more nourishing fruitage; the schools will inspire the genius of some of their boys and girls to do it. Family life, community responsibilities, and the scope and functions of government are all to be more thoroughly studied that they may be better adjusted. The soil we live on, the mountains and rivers and seas, the animals — tamed and wild — the physical life of the people, the care and use of the world's resources, the natural rights of men, the expansion of knowledge, the betterment of feelings, the processes which will enable and induce people to make the most of themselves, demand the utmost serious-

ness of study. There are no limits to the phases of modern study, and there are going to be no ancient limitations upon the freedom of the New York schools.

In other words, the schools are so full of subjects that are of both cultural and potential value that the right to exclusive worth will no longer be conceded to Greek and Latin; they will be valued in experience and will have to depend upon their worth to the world. There will be no exclusion of studies one way or the other. Students and schools will have the opportunity to choose. There will not be many more preferential tariffs in academics, not much more "thus saith the Lord" about what youngsters out of the elementary schools must study. Colleges will provide what they have the means to supply; will demand what they think well from freshmen; will exact such study for academic degrees as they have the courage to enforce. Students will take it, or let it alone and go elsewhere for what they want. And uniformity between colleges is neither possible nor desirable. Students will be credited with what they do, and institutions will be judged by what they are. And the worth of graduates and of schools will be established, not on the basis of so many parts of Greek or chemistry or logic, but because they have shown so much of character, and power, and accomplishment.

The trend is not for aristocracy but democracy in education. Students who go to college are not out of the same manner of homes or the same kind of schools as those who went to college fifty years ago. Their number has increased many fold. There are no longer any rungs missing from the educational ladder in America, as is the case in other lands. And that ladder not only stands upon the ground but its head is among the stars. All have equal rights upon it. That fact is enlarging, and multiplying, and diversifying, and quickening our colleges. It is this very thing that is giving us the most comprehensive and efficient, the most persuasive and adaptable, system of education in the world.

It is the business of every factor in the State's system of education to give every aid it can to every man and woman, and to the State itself. That will be done best by schools developing individuality, if they coöperate. Coöperation is as vital to each school as to the educational system. Meanness defeats itself in education even more than in other things. The institution that is strong in itself will be yet stronger when it helps other institutions of whatever grade, and all good interests of whatever kind. Universities and colleges culture people by the use of books, but quite as much

by training them in doing; and by training them for commercial and manual employments as well as for professional vocations.

And it is the interest of the State and the function of State educational authority to aim at a fair equilibrium in the educational activities of the people. The State is not concerned about idlers whom it does not have to support, no matter how much they possess or what they know. It is concerned about some balance of vocations among its workers, about the work of all kinds being done that it needs to have done, and about its workers being fitted for the work that they can do best. Whatever makes the most of the world's work makes the most of the world's men and women. Workers are about all who count and workers of every class do count. It is wide of the mark to say that men and women are of more account than wood and iron. Of course they are, the poor as well as the rich, the workers more than the idlers. We are for culturing all of them. People are cultured by their self-activities. The only way to make more of men and women is by putting all possible knowledge and all practicable intelligence into what they do. Then the State is going to have every conceivable kind of school, even agricultural schools and schools that have been sneeringly called "fine blacksmiths' shops." There will be more rather than fewer engineering colleges, and more rather than less applications of the sciences to the industries in both the secondary and primary schools. The educational system will have to teach men and women how to make more money in their shops and on their lands, and how to make homes and institutions that may easily make more of men and women. Everything will not have to be taught everywhere; nor will everyone have to engage in everything; but one who can not enter into something that demands energy and have sympathy with everything that is good will be in danger of going to seed in American education.

Let Hamilton College follow her own judgment, and every man of the schools, whether his work and his thought accord with her plans and policies or not, will admire her courage and wish her well. But let us work together a little more closely and understandingly. Let us give over thinking that the State, any authority or any influential factor in it, is against this or that in education. All will have to live and help others to live to the best advantage. The State is for freedom, for the equal chance for everyone in education; it is for every study; and for the survival of what does the most for the character, intelligence, and thrift of its people, and therefore for the stability and advancement of the State itself.

THE PLACE OF SARATOGA IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

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THE PLACE OF SARATOGA IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR¹

The foreplanning which arranged that this meeting of the New York State Historical Society should be held at Saratoga, and provided for the discussion of all phases of that New York campaign in the Revolution which culminated at this place with such decisive triumph for the patriot arms, was patriotically and thoughtfully done. In thus illustrating the doings of our fathers and portraying to some extent the cost of our institutions, we are doing quite as much as we can do in any other way to help on popular education. It is really a very great pleasure, a sort of patriotic holiday, to turn from the routine and details of the Education Department, and revel in that unparalleled and inspiring inheritance which we of the State of New York have in both the civic and military history of the American Revolution.

The preliminary situations, the strategy, the fighting, the heroisms, the chivalry, and the tremendous results of the battle of Saratoga, are fascinating to all students of history, and enticingly so to all lovers of America. My pencil would skip across the pages if it were to trace Britain's comprehensive plan of campaign and the vehement opposition of the patriots; if it were to follow the deliberate, haughty, grim advance of Burgoyne from the North; if it were to chuckle over the failure of Sir Henry Clinton to come up from the lower Hudson; if it were to glory over the scattering of St Leger and his Indians by those gallant old Dutchmen, Nicholas Herkimer and Peter Gansevoort, with a handful of regulars, supported by the doughty farmers of the Mohawk valley; and if it were to celebrate the fast gathering of more farmers, the gallant earnestness of other regular troops, the untiring sagacity and the sure-shooting of Daniel Morgan and his riflemen, the voluntary and perhaps the frenzied soldiership of Benedict Arnold, and the overgenerous moral support and magnanimous chivalry of Philip Schuyler, which, taken together, and in spite of the meanness and cowardly stupidity of Gates, forced, for the first time, a British army to ground its arms to Continental troops.

But the affair to which I am invited to make a contribution is no

¹ Address before the New York State Historical Association at its annual meeting, September 1912.

such hilarious revel. My task here is to measure the importance of Saratoga in the American Revolution and therefore in the revolutionary history of the world. No one will doubt the difficulties of doing that in a brief paper, for it can not be done without a serious study of all the leading men and the large events associated with the Revolution, in the fields of politics, of diplomacy, and of battle, or without a good understanding of the subsequent influence of American independence upon the progress of constitutional freedom in America and throughout the world. But happily we may avoid details and we may ignore the common disputes over minor facts. We are to discern the main events upon a widespread field and see which looms the largest in forcing culminations and in creating law and security and opportunity in the world.

A moment or two for a foreword will not be misspent. Doubtless it was settled when the stars were hung in the heavens that a new and independent nation would be compounded in America, but it had to come about through thinking and doing, by occurrences and events. And it is hard to realize the differences and dissensions among men and women and the minor happenings that give trend to vital history, when it is set forth so glibly on a few pages in a book.

The English masses knew little and cared little about men and events in America. The colonists were not at all united in wishing independence. The common people of England and America were homogeneous enough. It is quite true that there had been much contention and not a little fighting among the nations of the Old World about their possessions in the New World, and there had been more or less maneuvering about governmental relations and the royal prerogatives, and there had been abuses which had stirred protests, but nothing occurred to make an armed resistance inevitable until the King put away the judicial and patriarchal attitude of the crown, became an unscrupulous partisan, manipulated Parliament, and toyed with the rights and freedoms of English subjects without the actual knowledge of the English people.

Only a half dozen years before the accession of George the Third the northern colonies had held a convention at Albany to form a union to fight the Indians without any thought of revolutionary issues with the mother country; and only a year or two before his accession Yankee continentals and English grenadiers and Scotch highlanders had marched and died together to make sure that the British power and the great things that it stood for should

long be dominant in the government of America. In a half dozen years after he became king, this unscrupulous, half-educated politician had stirred a revolt in America which compelled his complete recession, and in fifteen years, learning nothing by experience, he had forced a revolution which recession could not placate and arms could not suppress.

In his long reign of sixty years this head of the English Church and boss in English politics had plenty of time to go stark mad, and the subtle processes which brought the noble Empire nearer to overthrow than she ever was before or ever has been since were amply sufficient to make him so. But until long after his throne had lost its noblest possessions, his mind was as keen and methodical as his purposes were grovelling and insatiable. Determined that the saying of his father that "Ministers are the real kings" should no longer be true, and intent upon ruling as well as reigning, he drove the strong men, including the great Chatham, from his cabinet and assumed the personal direction of the affairs of his kingdom. Ignorant of the mighty undercurrents of English history and the stubborn virtues of his people, his conception of government could go no further than the dominance of a clique, and his methods for assuring that could not rise above bribing the vices which create the only vital needs for exercising the forces of government at all. He bought boroughs; was up at daybreak to scan the tally sheets of the votes in Parliament on the night before; and carried his ends by favor, patronage, and money. And the ends he carried forced the dismemberment of his kingdom. Lecky has said that the course of George the Third, during the latter part of the American war "was as criminal as the acts which brought Charles the First to the scaffold."

His ends were certainly idle and his methods ran amuck in America. The English colonies in New England were peopled by as true Englishmen as England ever had. They had come from the northeastern counties where faith was refined by persecutions and martyrs grew in the natural order. The Dutch of New York had inherited somewhat less severe views of life, rather more aptness at commercial progress, and just as hardy character, with quite as strong a love for liberty and for learning, from a people who, through valorous experiences, had developed these qualities in preëminent degree. Hardly less may be said of all the other peoples in the thirteen colonies of Great Britain in America. Of course there were good and bad, learned and unlearned, indus-

trious and shiftless, among these people, but, all in all, they were the most homogeneous, unselfish, and aspiring believers in God and lovers of liberty in the world. Life in the remote wilderness, encompassed by dangerous beasts and savage men, had given edge and point to the great attributes they brought across the sea. The great body of them met all the demands of the new manner of life with unsurpassed acuteness, and their exceptional men responded to the highest demands of intellectual, civic, and military leadership with genuineness, adroitness and forcefulness that have surprised the great men of the world. There was hardly a man among them who could not manage a boat, test all the qualities of a horse, or get the utmost out of the possibilities of a rifle, and when it came to statecraft and diplomacy, their leaders showed that there was nothing wanting. And not I alone but the leading English writers of English history say that these people saved English freedom against this English king.

When he and his clique pushed their demands and asserted their control across the lines that had been established in the great charters of English liberty, it was natural that the Englishmen in New England at the north should be the quickest to resent and the first to resist. They did it with remarkable unanimity of sentiment and surprising energy of action. Of course the King had his adherents in America as well as in England, and more of them than we now commonly think, but there was no such division into parties, no such fooling or debauching of so many people as in England. Of course the middle and the southern colonies had their own peculiarities and their own interests to influence their courses. Of course this and that people were quickened most by the special considerations that appealed very directly to them; of course the people of a region responded most completely to a danger that came directly to their doors; of course in their weariness, and their poverty, and their exhaustion, they relaxed when the menace recoiled or the immediate campaign was over; and of course the doings and even the honor of an inexperienced Confederation fell into confusion; but above it all looms the great fact that they played both a waiting and a fighting game so adroitly and so valorously that British armies had to withdraw, independence had to be admitted, and the English government itself had to be radically recast. And the great turning point of it all was right here at Saratoga.

From a strictly military point of view nothing so important happened in the long and slow course of the Revolution as the surrender of Burgoyne's army. The significance which it had in the

British mind is clear enough when one remembers that the head and front of the American revolt seemed to be in New England and New York; that if this great northern revolution could be quelled the rest would appear easy; that the old warpath of the Indians and of the English and French, along the Hudson river, and Lake Champlain, was the natural, short, level, and easy channel of communication between the British army and navy at New York City and the loyal English colonies in Canada. It is particularly significant when one sees the careful and comprehensive preliminary arrangements for the campaign by which three armies were to converge at Albany, scattering death and destruction along the roads, and leaving no doubt of ending all resistance by the time their forces came together and crushed their enemy in the vortex. It was a great plan and it was to be executed by veteran troops with plenty of Hessian and Indian allies led by the best officers sent to America in the course of the war. Burgoyne himself was a braggart, but he was no mere braggart. On his way he took Fort Ticonderoga and then Fort Edward, and came on boasting that "Britons never retreat." He found that when he wanted to retreat he couldn't, but that does not overthrow the fact that that army was the most important one sent upon the most vital mission of any English army in the Revolution, and he was in command of it because he was the most pompous, dogged, vigorous and ambitious soldier in the English service. That army was overwhelmed because it *had to be*. The Yankees were not always successful, but they could be when they had to be. Saratoga proved it. Individual or incidental details like Bennington, Oriskany, the dastardly flunk of Clinton, were fine contributions to the splendid end, but notwithstanding them the end might have been otherwise. The great issue had to be made here and the great result had to be gained right here. Saratoga itself was as vital to the Union in the Revolution as Gettysburg was in the Civil War. If the Confederacy could force a battle in Pennsylvania and triumph, there was no hope. If the English could make such plans in New York and succeed, there was no hope. Saratoga and Gettysburg both *had to be*.

One will never understand the progress of the Revolution unless he realizes the attitudes and theories of the colonial statesmen and military leaders. The loyalists had more men and greater resources and technically the more experienced soldiers. The patriots had the whole country, were more accustomed to warfare in the woods, and were able and willing to wait for battles on their own grounds

and at their own times. The British were three thousand miles from home, across a rough sea, without steam, disappointed in their American support, cooped up in the cities and camps, and having on their shoulders the burden of offensive operations. The Yankees were a singularly aggravating people to professional soldiers. They were at home, could and did go about their store-keeping, their milling, and their farming, between the British interruptions, and if necessary could play the game a thousand years. They could evacuate a town and, in every instance except the deplorable mistake of General Clinton at Charleston, they did unless it was clearly worth while not to do so; they could retreat and maneuver with equanimity until the time and the place for retribution came to them. Old Sam Adams had it in mind when, after Bunker Hill, he said they had more hills to sell to the British at the same price, and General Greene was thinking of it when he said that while the Yankees had the sovereignty of the country, the British sovereignty never extended beyond their own out-sentinels. But the New York campaign, and particularly the capitulation at Saratoga, proved that the Colonials could do a thing when they had to, and the twenty thousand men they gathered here gave notice, writ large, that in the end their triumph would be complete.

The loss of men and munitions of war was of itself a serious British loss. The campaign had certainly annulled the efficiency of no less than ten thousand men. And British grenadiers had money value so far from home; the Hessians and Brunswickers had cost them a vast deal of good money; and they had paid dearly, too, for the Indians, who, keener than the whites and not caring whether it was to be a "capitulation" or a "convention," had not stayed to see it out. Before the capitulation the patriots had killed, wounded or captured eighteen hundred men. The Canadians and local Tories followed the example of the Indians in skulking off through the woods. Fifty-eight hundred were included in the terms of the convention. The Yankee farmers did not care for uniforms and they disliked drill, but they were very expert at killing in their everyday clothes. Men who could shoot a deer running in the woods or over the hills had no trouble in slaughtering the draft horses of the artillery or the mounts of the general officers. The loss of British officers of distinction at Saratoga is surprising. It is said that six members of Parliament were among the slain. Of twenty English officers hit by bullets at Freeman's farm, ten were shot dead. The stores captured amounted to five thousand

muskets, seventy thousand rounds of ball cartridges, four hundred sets of harness, and the finest train of brass artillery that had then been made. And their cannon and small arms and stores were precisely what the Yankees needed. But the real point of the British loss was in the loss of prestige. At other times the issue had been decisive or might be clouded, but there was no chance for that here. In strategy, in maneuvering, in flanking, in straight fighting center to center and man to man, upon the most vital field and thoroughfare that had been or could be in the course of the war, they had had to lay down their arms and ask for terms. It overthrew any reasonable expectation that it would be different at any other time. And in fact it did save New York and New England from further fighting north and east of the mouth of the Hudson through all the after days in the slow and aggravating war. Of course there was plenty of fighting and no end of suffering in the patriot cause for five long years thereafter, but neither before nor after was there any such strategic campaign, with so many men, so much dependent, such testing of soldiership, and ending in such complete disaster to British arms, and such utter humiliation to the British spirit, as in the New York campaign which had its far-reaching culmination at Saratoga. It was enough to signify to as honest a people as the English were, if they had been permitted to know the facts, that the war should have ended then and there.

But the Revolution grew out of English politics, and although it had to go on because the necessities of English politics refused to accept a disaster to the army which would be an equivalent disaster to the Tory party, to the King's cabinet, and to the King himself, yet Saratoga was immediately reflected in the parliamentary debates, and encompassed the empire with the gravest perils that staunch structure has ever been called upon to withstand.

The news of Saratoga reached the English government about the first of December, being six weeks on the way. The parliamentary discussion of the American question had all along been behind closed doors and studiously kept from the public, and it was attempted to keep even the hard news of the disaster to Burgoyne from Parliament itself. But there were giants in the opposition who were entirely equal to larger tasks than making the House of Commons open its doors to the people or compelling cabinet ministers to admit a truth so momentous. The slowly rising tide of popular discontent helped to force the doors, and the apprehension which had been aroused by Burke's foretelling of the worst,

doubled the opposition which supported his little party in compelling the disclosure of the facts. When Colonel Barre demanded that the Secretary for American Affairs inform the House what had become of General Burgoyne and his army, it was admitted that they had all been made prisoners but it was coolly urged that the House should suspend judgment. But such news as that was not conducive to a suspension of the judgment of the English Commons, and amid much disorder an acrimonious debate ensued.

Barre, who had a soldierly record that was brilliant and a soldierly opinion that was of weight, charged the disaster upon the minister, Germain, rather than upon Burgoyne, and asserted that the whole plan for the invasion of New York had been condemned in advance by every soldier in the kingdom as "unworthy of a British war minister and too absurd for an Indian chief." The situation was so tense and the talk so hot that Burke called Lord Wedderburne, the Solicitor General, out to a fist fight or something worse, and Fox demanded that members of the cabinet should not only vacate their places but also be tried for criminal neglect. The government was arraigned for worse than the stupid planning of a British campaign and the heartless neglect of a British army that had been sent upon a vital mission into untold perils. Old soldiers and sailors who had led the forces of the kingdom to victories on land and sea minced no words in laying bare the unfit condition to which incapable and corrupt administration had brought the army and navy, and foretold early wars with more powerful enemies nearer home, which might repeat, upon British soil, the story of Saratoga, unless the bootless quarrel with the colonies was speedily ended and peace with America should be immediately concluded. With the finest irony and with withering scorn the government was pilloried for hiring mercenaries to help England make war upon English citizens in opposition to the law of the Empire and to the law of nations, and for holding out all that was opposed to English freedom to savage Indians who would burn the homes and scalp the wives and children of British subjects.

So Saratoga appealed to the pride and indignation, even to the conscience and apprehension, of the British nation, by the tongues of the ablest men in a Parliament that Cowper has said embraced the largest number of the ablest men of any Parliament that ever sat. The appeal was not without effect upon the government itself, and the doors were open enough to make the appeal exceedingly

effective upon the public opinion of the realm. The ministers met the assault for the moment, as weak or corrupt men commonly do, with flippancy and boasting, and then adjourned for a six weeks' holiday vacation; but the masses thought it more fitting to meet it with a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer. Soon after the return from the roast beef and plum pudding of the holiday recess, the prime minister brought in a proposition to send a commission to America to promise the colonists all that they had ever asked, together with representation in Parliament, upon the only condition that they would return to their allegiance. With the approval of Parliament he sent it by a commissioner who, Horace Walpole said, was a fit commissioner to make a treaty that would never be made. Whether Horace was altogether correct or not, he certainly was so in part, for the Continental Congress unanimously resolved not to confer with any commissioners from Great Britain until independence was recognized in express terms by the cabinet ministers themselves. Saratoga had turned the corner of the struggle which was writing "American Independence" across the skies.

But the news of Saratoga set new forces in motion that were even more compelling in the direction of independence than was pride, or fear, or conscience. Apprehension of those new forces on the other side of the sea doubtless compelled the overtures for peace; and the hope and expectation of them, joined with the great confidence which Saratoga had inspired, may explain the unanimity with which those far-reaching overtures were rejected on this side of the sea.

There was hardly a court in Europe from Madrid to Moscow that had not for years been disposed to throw stones at the Court of London, or to hold the coats of those who would. They had hitherto preferred to do it in the dark, and had done a good deal of diplomatic lying about it, but they were about ready to do it in daylight. The King of England had been sending royal messengers with autograph notes to the sovereigns of Europe praying them to supply soldiers to reduce his rebellious colonies in America, with assurances that he would not regard the cost. Brave little Holland recalled her own revolutionary history, remembered her children upon the Hudson and Mohawk, and sharply refused. Even the giddy dame and subtle sovereign on Russia's throne resented the bald proposition that she might plunge her hand as deeply as she pleased into Britain's treasury if she would send

twenty thousand troops to help her royal brother in distress. She held it to be an offense to her honor, and she does not seem to have been overfastidious about honor either. She asked the King's emissary if it would not disgust the people of England, and assured him that it was "not consistent with the dignity of England to employ foreign troops against her own subjects." It was left to the petty princes of Hesse-Cassel and Brunswick in Germany to sell their subjects upon abhorrent terms and for vast sums upon which one of the best of the English historians says England is paying interest to this very day. But the bluff and great Frederick, King of Prussia, characterized the performance as driving men to the shambles like cattle, for nothing but money.

But of all the enemies that England had in Europe, France and Spain were the nearest, the strongest, the bitterest, and the most superficially polite. They were both hereditary rivals of England for the possession of America, and it was not two score years since Wolfe and Montcolm had fought their doubly tragic duel upon the Plains of Abraham, as a result of which England had taken Canada from France and would drive her out of America for good, and was pushing Spain beyond the Mississippi with rather serious intimations, which we have seen realized, that she too might be obliged to get off the American continent altogether. These two powerful nations, united by heredity, religion, military efficiency, and discomfitures, were not the kind to lose sight of the opportunity for crippling their arch enemy by encouraging the American revolt.

They acted together not only in giving encouragement but in supplying money, clothing, cannon, small arms, shot and powder to the colonists. This began in May 1776, two months before the Declaration of Independence. Of course it had to be disguised, for any public knowledge of it would have been tantamount to the declaration of another war across the English channel. They were no strangers to war, but they knew their old antagonist very well and they realized the danger of clashing with her again unless at a time when she was handicapped or crippled. Under such tense circumstances the French and Spanish supplies flowed rather freely when the patriots were successful, but the stream was more sluggish whenever the Revolution seemed to face the possibility of failure. It almost dried up in the summer and fall of 1777, when the colonial outlook was so discouraging that the secret agent of France told Franklin that there was danger of France

"cutting my throat as if I was a sheep." But in October the conquest at Saratoga opened the flood-gates and threw off all disguise.

Early in December an evening dinner party at Doctor Franklin's house at Passy, a suburb of Paris, was very properly interrupted by a courier with news of the disaster to Burgoyne, and that agent, who was enjoying the doctor's hospitality, rushed off to carry the news to the court at Versailles with so much elation over the increased safety to his throat that in his haste and in the darkness he upset his coach and dislocated his shoulder. But the news led the King to move almost as precipitously as his agent, for on December 6th the American representatives in Paris received the direct assurances of Louis the Fourteenth written on the gilt edged stationery which he reserved exclusively for his correspondence, that France was now ready to give to the United States every proof of his interest and affection. Six days later Vergennes granted the American delegates a formal audience and with such favorable results that in another six days, in replying to the dispatch from Congress announcing the capture of Burgoyne, the delegates assured Congress that the "surrender of Burgoyne had created as much joy in France as if it had been a victory of their own troops over their own enemies." The preliminary articles of alliance with France were signed on January 17th, and the formal ones on February 6th. The alliance was tantamount to a declaration of war against England, and the brief delay in the public proclamation of the treaty was for military reasons.

There were in fact two of these treaties. One was for amity and trade. The other established a complete military and civic alliance. The latter contravened the instructions of the Continental Congress, for that body had expressed views that were greatly to its honor and far in advance of the accepted tenets of international diplomacy of that day. Foreshadowing a course which the United States, with the exception of this single instance, has always consistently adhered to, the Congress had instructed its representatives to avoid a treaty which might "entangle us in any future wars in Europe" and it exemplified its statesmanship as well as its love of Old England by directing its ambassadors to refuse "to unite with France in the destruction of England." This was the first treaty that our country ever made, and it is the only offensive and defensive alliance that it has ever entered into. And the time came when even this had to be renounced rather ruthlessly and without

reparation. But all good and patriotic Americans have weighed the motives of the parties and witnessed the historical results, and have been glad that such a spotless character and able jurist as John Jay could say, when it came to renouncing this treaty so vital to the life of the Union, that he would break the instructions of the Congress as readily as he would the pipe that he then threw upon the hearth.

The course of the United States in this great matter is easily enough understood for it seems to have been dictated by absolute necessity, but it is difficult to justify the diplomacy of France. The French King with his Queen perished upon the scaffold of a revolution which was the logical descendant of the one he was now aiding and abetting. The cost to France of aid given to the colonies was over 1,280,000,000 francs or \$256,000,000. That was enough of itself to bring on the French Revolution. This aid was given to Anglo-Saxon liberty in America in order to menace England and thus help despotism in France. But it had the contrary effect. It promoted liberty in America, in England, in France, and in all the world. So God makes His own use of human agencies to promote His own ends.

The dispatches announcing the execution of the French treaties were received by Congress on Saturday, May 2, 1778. It was after adjournment for the week when they were delivered, but Congress reconvened at once in order that the good news need not be concealed over Sunday. On the ensuing Monday the treaties were ratified by Congress. Robert Morris wrote Washington, "Our independence is undoubtedly secured: our country must be free." The army at Valley Forge had a holiday; the commander in chief gave a dinner; Lafayette was given the command of a division; and the whole was solemnized by thanksgiving to God in acknowledgment of the divine goodness which had vouchsafed to the colonies the alliance with France.

France followed the treaties very soon with a formal declaration of war against England, and with earnest appeals to Spain to act in concert with her. Indeed, she had already notified Spain that the months of January and February 1778 would be the outside limit of time when Spain must unite with France in an alliance with the colonies and a declaration of war against England in order to make the assistance effective enough to deserve American gratitude in case of success. The moment the French ministry received the news of Saratoga, Vergennes sent a courier to

Madrid urging combined and immediate action. Fortunately France took the important step from which she could not draw back without waiting for the return of the courier. Spain refused an immediate declaration of war on the ground that she was not prepared for it, and urged that the building up of an independent republic in America was of questionable expediency.

In the light of subsequent events the attitude of the leading Spanish statesmen is singularly interesting. France, with whom their country was allied by blood, religion, system of government, ideals, dangers, and disappointments, was urging her to aid the colonies, and they were urging upon her far greater rewards than they could afford to give her, and yet she stood firm in her opposition to a republic in America for the reason, as one of her statesmen advised her king, that "this federal republic is born a pigmy; a day will come when it will be a giant; even a Colossus formidable to these countries," and as another put it, "if the union of the American provinces shall continue, they will become by force of time and of the arts, the most formidable power in the world."

In the following year Spain declared war upon England but happily for us avoided the American alliance which the colonists urged and for which we now know they were ready to pay too heavy a price. The year after that England was at war with Holland too because she gave the colonies her sympathy and some financial assistance. And with it all there was a recognition of the new-born republic and a declaration of neutrality by Russia, Denmark, and Sweden.

Britain with a formidable revolution on her hands was now menaced by the great military forces of Europe. No real lover of English freedom can be devoid of sorrow and pity that a people with such qualities, such a history, such constitutional power and such capacity for exercising it, could let an over-ambitious and unscrupulous monarch carry them to such an extremity of danger and humiliation. For it was no more a question as to whether the colonies should go free than it was whether the British Empire should survive. Happily the colonies did go free, and, happily, the Empire did survive.

Condensed into few words, the immediate military results of the destruction of Burgoyne's army may be stated as follows: it took from Britain in the field ten thousand of the best officers and soldiers in the British army; it transferred from the British to the Colonists vast stores of war of which the little Confederacy stood

sorely in need; it destroyed all confidence in the Indians as allies of value in systematic warfare, and opened the way for punishing the Iroquois so severely that they feared and respected white civilization ever after; it cut off for all time all communication between the English loyalists in Canada and their army and navy at the mouth of the Hudson; and it completely ended all resistance to the Revolution in New York and New England where there was the most in America that could give strength and substance to the British crown. It opened the doors of the House of Commons, appealed to English sense, pride and conscience, and led to immediate overtures for peace from Britain on any terms but separation, and to the unanimous and unhesitating rejection of these overtures. It produced the French alliance and the consequent war by France upon England, the war of Spain upon England, the Dutch loan to the Colonists and then the warfare of the Netherlands upon England, and the early recognition of American independence by all the leading powers of Europe.

No one suggests that the Revolution ended at Saratoga. Completely foiled in the northern colonies, the Mother Country turned to the southern colonies. She probably reasoned that there were more loyalists and perhaps not so many hardy fighters there. If so she had occasion to realize that in part at least she was mistaken. As horrid war receded from their cabins the exhausted settlers, north or south, became indifferent. They were without men to send long distances; there was lack of roads and of means of transportation; and they could not go far from their own fire-sides without grave danger to their wives and children. They were not only without money, but they were without government or the experience which could make government effective. Worse still perhaps, the states were jealous of each other and of all central power. Each knew that with the help of its neighbors at least it could defend itself against invasion, and reasoned that far away states must do the same. So the war dragged its slow course through months and years of suffering and death, until the men of the South proved at Cowpens, and King's Mountain, and Yorktown, what the men of the North had proved at Oriskany, and Bennington, and Saratoga. But the time never was before the surrender at Saratoga when the separation from Great Britain was altogether certain, and the time never was after Saratoga when there was any reasonable doubt about it.

But if Saratoga was a turning point in the Revolutionary War,

it was also very much more than that, for the success of the American Revolution brought new lights into the world and opened wholly unprecedented opportunities for the unhampered advances of the noblest qualities of men and women. The separation from Britain must have been in the Divine Plan. The Colonists were not seeking independence except as independence, which, in view of the unscrupulous conduct of the English king and the hot-headed course of the English Parliament, was the last refuge of English liberty in America. They did not want war; they went to great pains to prove that they did not begin it. But their inherent qualities — self-reliance, self-confidence, love of fair play, gifts for establishing social order, the matter-of-course assumption that the fundamental rights of English freemen could not be impaired, and the purpose to manage their own business in their own way, made the Colonists invincible. They were invincible not because they loved war or were in rebellion against English institutions. Neither was true. They abhorred war and were in love with English institutions. Indeed, they were not dissatisfied with the form of the English government. They were invincible because the soul of a new and a free nation was ripe for its birth.

Independence had to be, not only because of what compelled it, but because the world was ready and waiting for what was to flow out of it. There are no bonds strong enough to confine the mind and soul of a human being, and surely there are none strong enough to limit the growth of the mind and soul of a new nation. The inherent qualities, the native impulses, of those early colonists, wrought out even more than they understood. They compelled intellectual, spiritual, political, industrial, commercial and social opportunity. They assured equality of right to all. They opened the way for that unprecedented expansion of all the self-activities which constitute the soul of a nation. The American colonies did more than win independence. They won freedom, absolute freedom for themselves and enlarged freedom for the people of all lands. It is that which brought the sagacious prophecy of the Spanish statesman of 1777 to realization so swiftly and so strongly.

But so much had to be settled through human instrumentalities and expressed in human action. And it transpired that more of that heroic human action which determined that America should be civilized rather than savage, English rather than Bourbon, republican rather than monarchial, and completely free in a new world rather than bound by the laws, usage, and thought of the

Old World, was expressed along the mighty thoroughfare which follows the Hudson from the sea to its source, and then winds along the shores of Lake George and Lake Champlain to the Sorrell and the St Lawrence rivers. It is truly the greatest street ever cut through a wilderness for the mental and moral progress of mankind. A decade before the Pilgrims came to Plymouth Rock, the great forerunners of American exploration, Champlain and Hudson, in the same year, working from the north and from the south, and without knowledge of each other, laid down this first great highway upon the map of the western world. It was the bloody warpath of the Iroquois and the Algonquin, of the French and Indian, and of the Revolutionary, wars. It is so level and so watered that one may float a boat almost the entire distance. It encounters but one elevation and that of but a hundred and fifty feet. It has come to be a great national highway of commerce and of pleasure. With the Berkshires and the Green mountains overhanging it upon one side, and the Catskills and the Adirondacks upon the other, it must always remain surpassingly wild, picturesque, impressive and sublime. It is the easy roadway to the very heart of nature in America, but even that is not its chief attraction. It is the chief roadway over which the new-born soul of the nation fought its way to that freedom of opportunity which has attracted all the peoples of the earth and here gathered and assimilated the great new nation of modern history. Every rod of it has been crimsoned with heroic and patriotic blood. Every nook and vista of it has its true story of struggle and accomplishment, of daring and of sorrow. At its foot the first American settlement that has endured was established, and there the foremost city of the land, very soon to be the foremost city of the world, sits in confidence and glory. In that city the first rich blood of the Revolution was spilled, and there, eight years after, Washington bade his official farewell to the officers of the patriot army he had led to complete victory. Retreating along this road, under the protection of the army, the New York Convention wrote the first Constitution of the State. In sight of it Arnold proved many times what a fine soldier he was, and once he showed what a contemptible traitor he could be. And in sight of it too American literature had its birth. So too did American unity, for at Albany, in 1754, the first Congress of the American Confederation was assembled, and at Poughkeepsie the State Convention gave to the Federal Constitution that vital support which it had to have. Fort Edward, Fort

William Henry, Fort Ticonderoga, Crown Point, which are a little farther up along this roadway, signify pleasant resting places to us, but they ought to portray thousands of men in the bloody agonies of death for English liberty and American independence. Plattsburg, at the far end of it, makes us think of a thrifty city and a pleasant people, but it might well make us think of an old sailor calling his officers to the quarter-deck of his flagship and kneeling down and praying for the victory such men clearly deserved and were very soon to win. A special paper, perhaps a book, would be needed to specify the events of real and often of supreme significance to American nationality and to human freedom in the world, which have transpired along this magnificent highway of more than three hundred miles.

Midway upon this great thoroughfare so close to nature, so created by and so consecrated to the country, stands Saratoga. It is rightfully at the center of the line for it marks the high tide of the Revolutionary War, the site of one of the great decisive battles of the world; it assured the life of the first great republic that has long endured to give opportunity to the many-sided phases of the spiritual, social, industrial, and political life of mankind.

EDUCATION BUILDING — DEDICATORY
ADDRESS

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EDUCATION BUILDING—DEDICATORY ADDRESS¹

Your Excellency Governor Dix, Mr Chancellor and Ladies and Gentlemen:

This building had its beginning in the very early history of this nation. The Dutch colonial charter of 1629, given by a people more advanced in democracy, in learning and in the skilled industries, than any other people in the world, and before there was a school in America, enjoined the little colony upon Manhattan island to "find ways and means to support a minister and a schoolmaster, that thus the service of God and zeal for religion may not grow cold and be neglected among them." In 1633, there was organized in New Amsterdam by a Dutch schoolmaster, Adam Roelandson, the first common school in America; and today a manuscript bearing the signature of that first schoolmaster is carefully guarded in the vaults of this building. A second chapter, and a very important one, in the history of this building begins immediately at the close of the Revolutionary War at the "first session after the peace" when an act was passed by the Legislature creating the corporation known as "The Regents of the University of the State of New York," and empowering that organization to hold property to the amount of the annual income of "forty thousand bushels of wheat." A third step was taken in 1795 when the State made a liberal appropriation and initiated the very vital American educational policy of systematically subsidizing and encouraging elementary schools. Still another chapter which looms large today in the records of the antecedents of this building, was begun in 1812 when the State of New York, the first in the country, passed the law which bound all the public schools together in a common system and took them under the direction of the State. Yet another step in the march toward this building was taken in 1854 when the State anticipated her neighbors by organizing an independent State Department of Public Instruction for the supervision of common schools. Then in the progress of time and after much tribulation came the unification of all

¹Address delivered by invitation of the Regents of the University of the State of New York at the dedication of the New York State Education Building, October 17, 1912.

the educational forces of the State in 1904, and in 1910 the Education Law which fixed everything rather securely. These are the dates in the history of New York education which are great enough to give them places upon the seal of the State Education Department. The occupancy of this building will doubtless justify the adding of another.

It would be a pleasant task here to record the names and the accomplishments of the men who during the past three hundred years have stood at the forefront, giving themselves to the schools and urging that the State should make ample provision for the education of its people. But we do not alone dedicate this building to the memory of the leaders in education who have gone. In this proud hour we do not forget the men and women in all walks of life who have made the Empire State the noble Commonwealth that she is. We have nothing but appreciation, gratitude and honor for those who broke the roads through the wilderness; who withstood the Indians and made clearings in the valleys; who set up log cabins, and schoolhouses, and churches; who established the finest young farming civilization that the world ever saw; who developed towns and highways, canals and railroads; and whose common sincerity and political sagacity laid firm the foundations upon which such a State could be built. We cherish the memories of the men and women of the last generation who had to overcome much and specious opposition to bear the great burden which it was the business of this State to carry in the war to save the Union. Nor do we overlook the teachers, and preachers, and lawyers, and publishers, and bankers, and engineers, and all the other workers who have made this State in this generation to thrill with an energy which makes her exalted position and her great influence to be everywhere honored. We would if we could inscribe their names upon the sunny side of this fair temple.

This building comes very naturally and very logically in the progress of education in this State. It has not resulted from accident or chance. The Unification Act of 1904 forever silenced the inevitable differences in the double-headed system of administration in education which had persistently existed in this State for more than an hundred years. When that act came into actual and entirely successful operation there were many who felt that the time had fully come when there should be something which would serve as a pledge of perpetual union and an assurance of vital educational progress, and which would at once place education

where it of right belongs in the activities of such a state. A permanent home for the unified department was therefore the natural suggestion. The legislative bill providing for the project was drawn with a full knowledge of the skepticism of the public about the erection of state buildings. It therefore contained the safeguards of orderly and intelligent procedure, of honest business management, and of satisfactory architectural and utilitarian results. It did much more. The proposal to bring all educational interests under one roof, under a unified legislative and executive administration, with the enlarged assurance of permanent unity, at once commended itself to legislative committees that had long sought educational peace. The bill was somewhat attractive because it placed New York before every other state and every other country in erecting a really noble structure declared by law to be for the *exclusive* use of its educational forces. The appeal for it was not made to the Legislature alone; it was made quite as directly to the people. And the nobility of the proposition, the promise that was in it, possibly the very audacity or aggressiveness of it, appealed to the temper of the State so strongly that all opposition disappeared.

A more serious task than that of securing the law appeared when the time came for a few men to meet the demands of the law and of the situation. It is one thing for a monarch with boundless power and limitless resources to empower a great artist to develop a great structure; it is quite another thing for a democratic people acting through their own representatives to enter upon such an enterprise with promise of satisfactory result. The exactions in this case were very great. The structure had to provide for many and marvelous activities, which in complexity, exactness and extent, are hardly rivaled in any manner of public administration. It had to respond to the nobler side of our nature, or fail. It had to regard all interior arrangements which would aid the technical work of a large force, and it had to stand adjacent to, and therefore in architectural rivalry with, a monumental Capitol which had exceeded it in cost six times over. It could only be successful by making it serve its work completely and by making it at the same time strikingly beautiful. It was necessary to study the interior plans with infinite care, and appeal to the Gods of Art and Architecture for the exterior.

The public will welcome the announcement that we dedicate a building which has been carried to admirable and complete fruition without a scandal, without unseemly controversy, and within the

appropriation that was first provided for it. But more than that has been done. More has been done than the successful housing of many interests under one roof. More has been done than the erection of a building so admirably adapted to its uses that it at once becomes the comfortable home and the inspiration of the widely different work of the many divisions of the Education Department. It is confidently believed that a substantial contribution has been made to the art and architecture of the world. If this building were to stand near the best of the state capitols, or even the national capitol, typical and beautiful as that is, it would hold the attention and the admiration of all lovers of the beautiful; if it had to bear comparison with the great churches of the world — St Paul's and Westminster in London, Notre Dame in Paris, St Isaac's in St Petersburg, St Peter's in Rome — it might fall short in massiveness and impressiveness, but the nobility of lines and proportions, and the bold and chaste uses of stone and iron for the promotion of culture and the quickening of spirituality, would attract the admiration of all visitors; and if judges of the supremely beautiful in construction were to stand where Michel Angelo's David overlooks the great center of the world's art at Florence, or where Gallori's Garibaldi looks down upon the world's most ancient and unique collection of architecture at Rome, and were to see these white marble walls, these harmonious proportions, and this long and graceful colonnade, they would surely marvel at the genius that had begotten it, and place it among the first dozen of most beautiful buildings in the world.

But while we rejoice in the grace and dignity of this building, we remember that this dedication but creates for us the opportunity for service, and that a real uplift to the State must come through the uses to which it is to be put. In a larger sense we rededicate today to the service of the people of the State and of the nation the remains of a noble library, which were gathered up in flame and smoke, and which by the noble action of the State is being hourly made broader and stronger than we had ever dared to hope; we rededicate museum collections known throughout the scientific world; and we strengthen and quicken an administrative educational organization which extends to every home in the State and is in constant cooperation with like agencies in all lands.

In this library we will make a storehouse of the "best books of all lands and all ages." We will be tolerant. We will discriminate against none save on moral grounds. We can hardly use the money

of the people for editions of capricious value. But we will lay hold of the products of human experience and of intellectual energy in this country and in all countries, that the State Library "may uplift the State and serve every citizen." Pure literature, literature to quicken the spiritual as well as the intellectual life, literature which unfolds the history of the human race and of the English and American people in particular, the literature of the political sciences and of the physical sciences, all that can make New York richer in mind and stronger in social structure, and more zestful for the true greatness of the State, will have welcome in this State's storehouse of knowledge and of power.

But we will make it a power station more than a storehouse. Books have come to be commonplace in our generation of much publication. There is little point in setting up a collection of books only for such as will come and use them. New York dedicates this building to more than that. The State has heretofore set up buildings only out of necessity and for very material ends. It has yielded to demands when necessary to protect itself, but it has not often taken the initiative and the aggressive to uplift itself. This building recognizes the fact that the culture of the soul is a work which the State is not only to consent to and encourage, but which it is to aid and to promote. We dedicate this building to the generation of the energy and the wisdom which will qualify man for dominion not only over the earth and air and sky but also over every living thing that moveth upon the earth including his dominion over self.

In this museum we shall record not only the progress of man but the march of the ages. Here shall be brought together whatever shall help man to solve the mystery of the earth upon which we live. Here shall experts delve into the obscure and bring to the service of the people both our manifest and our hidden resources. Here shall be shown for popular interest the flora and fauna of our State. Here shall we portray in graphic form the great names and great deeds of New York. And while we dedicate this museum to all that is exact and accurate in science, we would not forget that the age demands that all knowledge must be brought to bear useful ends in uplifting and in enlightening all the people. In rededicating the great museum which will soon loom large upon the fourth floor, we recall its good work in the long years when science had few friends and states gave small support to it; and we start it off at a new pace and with even a new courage to unlock more truth,

and with the expectation that it will incite still more people to search for the truth.

Beyond particular things we set apart this noble structure to the advancement of every educative influence within the State. We here refresh our faith in that "system of free common schools wherein all the children of the State may be educated." Our statutes place upon the New York educational organization a tremendous responsibility. Nearly two million boys and girls and young men and women are in attendance upon our schools; more than fifty thousand men and women are engaged in teaching these schools; eighty million dollars are expended annually for education; and more than three hundred and fifty million dollars are invested in school and college property in this State. Our constituency is everywhere and our obligation reaches to every cross-road. We are here to set sane standards for all grades and classes of schools. We are here to say who shall not be allowed to teach and to enforce school laws. We are here to charter colleges and universities and professional schools and to bring them into logical and effective cooperation with each other and with the entire system of education. We are here to maintain and advance the high standard which this State has long set in regulating the practice of the professions. We are here to foster and to encourage all private schools and other private educational agencies, and so far as possible to blend them in the organized system of the State. To the State government, its executive officers, its legislatures, its boards and commissions, to all of its county and municipal officers charged with public business, this building will give every aid that will be accepted. Every instrument of culture, everything that makes for the common good, shall find here a helping hand.

This fortunate square, at the midst of the State's most exciting controversies, when self-interest is tense and reason blinded, shall be neutral ground. This house shall know no social, political, or religious distinctions. It shall be hospitable and helpful to all. Some one shall stand in the open door to help all men and women, all boys and girls, to the very limits of that individual self-reliance which is the true essence of American manhood and womanhood. It shall not aggravate hatreds. It shall square life with truth. This building shall stand upon the foundation principles upon which our free State rests, and shall be devoted to the exalted purposes for which our free State exists. It shall assure equality of opportunity; it shall provide the common helps which the individual can not supply; it shall

aim to adjust the man to the mass and make the wheels of the social structure and of the government organization run truly, harmoniously, and for resultful ends. Such a structure, with such a purpose, is the only kind of instrument through which our claims about the worth of our democracy can be made good. Even then all depends upon the strength and vitality of the instrument, and that of course means upon the human elements that are the vital factors of it.

There will have to be resistance as well as propelling force. There will have to be standards here and they will have to be upheld even though the powerful would break them down. We dedicate this building to open-mindedness and yet to exactness, to the avoidance of error, to the correction of mistakes, to the exposure of fraud. It will have standards and it will adhere to them. Its mission is to favor none unless he is disposed to be right, and to oppose none unless he is disposed to be wrong. It will regard the interest of every man, but it will not forget that the concerns of the man are more dependent upon the moral health of the mass than upon all else; and it will stand aloof from those who would break down the standards of education for some personal end, and so pollute the streams which sustain the life of the State itself.

We are honored by the attendance of many guests eminent in the educational work of other states and other lands. It has been kind of them to come, and they have been more than generous in their words of commendation. Our system of examinations and of registering institutions in all states and many lands may lead us into the bad habit of assuming too much. It would be worse for New York to do too little than to assume too much. We would do neither. We know that she is a strong state, bound to bear a strong hand in the educational as in all the work of the country. We hope not to do it in any ungracious way. We want to be good citizens, agreeable neighbors, in the democracy of learning. There are other states where the common educational opinion is freer than it is here because their laws and institutions and constitutions responded to riper early situations than ours did. There are other states where the ordinary sentiment stands for wider opportunities for the highest learning more than it does here. We have no unusual ground for boasting; we would not seem boastful. On the other hand, no other state is confronted by the educational difficulties presented by our complex, and steadily becoming more complex, population of ten millions of people. New York has

reason enough to spend her energy and her money to train both the old stock and the new stock that steadily pours across her northern border and rushes in at her southern gateway. We interlace with the educational world as perhaps no other state does. We dedicate this building to common sympathies and to mutual helpfulness; we want help and as the only way to get it is by giving in education we offer such largeness of undertaking and such measure of leadership as our situation, our resources, and our necessities thrust upon us.

This building is rooted deep in our illustrious educational history. We dedicate it reverently to the memory of our pioneers. The people who have erected it are struggling for all manner of progress in the most tense and complex civilization the world has ever known. We dedicate it bravely and courageously to the needs of the throbbing present. It will have a work to do in the long future. We dedicate it solemnly to the needs of the generations yet unborn. With all our rich experience, with all the records of our past, education is yet in its infancy. It was only yesterday that higher education was for but the few, and those few, men; it was only yesterday that there was not a free public high school in America; it is only today that we have begun to fit our lower schools to the real needs of boys and girls. And so we dedicate these halls to that which is to come after us.

We consecrate this splendid pile of stone and steel to the enrichment of the great soul of the Empire State. We set apart this ground and this beautiful building to the good service of free education, and we dedicate ourselves, our children and their children to its generous support and to its unselfish, unpartisan, enlightened and patriotic use for the true greatness of the State and the highest good of all her people.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



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